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Married women working for
pay



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Married Women Working For Pay

IN EIGHT CANADIAN CITIES

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

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Canada. Women's Bureau
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SURVEY OF
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Married Women
Working for Pay

IN EIGHT CANADIAN CITIES

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1958

Minister
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Deputy Minister
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FOREWORD

This Report on a Survey of Married Women Working for Pay in eight Canadian cities was prepared for the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour by the Economics and Research Branch of the Department.

The Survey was initiated because of the need to provide authoritative information which would throw light on questions that are constantly being asked about this important segment of the Canadian labour force.

The questions to be used in the survey were planned by staff members of the two branches: Miss M. V. Royce and Miss M. Davies of the Women's Bureau and Mr. W. E. Duffett, Dr. W. R. Dymond, Mr. J. P. Francis, and Mr. A. H. Portigal from the Economics and Research Branch. Dr. Nathan Keyfitz and Mr. D. K. Dale of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Mrs. Flora Hurst of the Department of National Health and Welfare gave technical advice.

Mr. Dale drew up the sampling plan and reconstructed the final returns to conform as closely as possible to the original plan of sampling.

A one-day meeting, held in Ottawa in September 1955, to discuss the content and method of the survey was attended by the following individuals from Canadian schools of social work located in the survey cities:

- Miss Katherine Dunne, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, N.S.,
- Mr. Edgar Guay, École de Service Social, Université Laval, Quebec, Que.,
- Dr. N. Zay, Section de Service Social, Université de Montréal, Montreal, Que.,
- Miss Eva Younge and Miss Margaret Griffiths, School of Social Work, McGill University, Montreal, Que.,
- Dr. Albert Rose, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.,
- Miss M. Roger, School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man.,
- Dr. Leonard Marsh, School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

These staff members of the schools of social work supervised the field work in their respective cities. The students who undertook the field work are too numerous to mention individually. The success of the survey has depended to a very considerable extent on their tireless

efforts and the many hundreds of hours they gave to the interviewing. In Edmonton, Professor B. A. Lindberg and Miss E. Elliott, School of Commerce, University of Alberta, supervised the field work. In Saskatoon, this was done by Dr. Gordon McMurray of the Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan. Miss Davies, and Miss C. B. Archer of the Economics and Research Branch also assisted with the field work in various centres.

Mr. Portigal planned and supervised the coding of the questionnaires. Mr. W. I. Moore, Director of the Mechanical Tabulation Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, undertook to have the information transferred to punched cards and provided the overall tabulations.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University gave valuable suggestions concerning analysis of the data.

The analysis was carried out by Mrs. Svanhuit Josie of the Economics and Research Branch under the general direction of Mr. J. P. Francis and Dr. G. Schonning. Mrs. Josie planned and supervised the production of the necessary tables and calculations from the raw data. She also prepared the final manuscript of this study.

MARION V. ROYCE,
Director,
Women's Bureau.

W. R. DYMOND,
Director,
Economics and Research Branch.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
OTTAWA, CANADA
January 1958

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most striking changes in the composition of Canada's labour force over the last 15 or 20 years has been the increasing participation of married women in paid employment. In 1941 one married woman in 20 was working; by 1951, more than one in ten had a job. This has been due largely to the great expansion in job opportunities and the change in attitude towards employment of married women. But other factors have also played a part.

Married women entered the labour force in large numbers during World War II. Many continued to work when the war was over; others joined them—particularly women whose children had grown beyond the stage where they required constant attention. Women who had to give up their jobs on marriage in an earlier day took advantage of the changed situation and went back to work. The pattern of the married woman re-entering employment when she reaches middle age or taking up paid work then, became much more common.

For girls who have grown to adulthood since the war, marriage does not almost automatically mean leaving paid employment as it did before World War II. Today's young woman commonly expects to play the double role of homemaker and job holder, at least for a few years, and perhaps off and on throughout her life.

Women on farms are likely to be fully occupied with both household and other duties before and after marriage. They do not, however, usually receive any wage or salary for their work around the farm. It is mainly in the cities and towns that women work for pay, and it is there that the striking increase has occurred in numbers of married women working outside their homes.

Today one in four non-farm workers is a woman, and about 40 per cent of these are married. If the widowed, divorced and separated are included then nearly half of the working women are, or have been married.

The high proportion of married women in the labour force today is to a considerable extent a reflection of the increase in the marriage rate during and since the war, and particularly of the lower age of marriage now general.

In the decade between 1941 and 1951 the nation's married population grew more than twice as fast as the single population.

At the beginning of World War II, 19 per cent of Canadian brides were under 20. Now 28 per cent of them are in their teens. In the same period the proportion of grooms 24 years old or younger has been rising steadily. Half of the men who were married in 1956 were less than 25 years old.

When the growth of the population 14 years of age and over, from which the labour force is drawn, is taken into account, it is clear that although the actual proportion of Canadian women working has risen steadily, there has been no phenomenal upsurge. In 1931 the proportion was 19.1 per cent. Ten years later it was 20.2 per cent and in 1951 it was 23.5 per cent. Today, one out of four is working.

The really significant change in recent years is the increase in the proportion of working women who are married. In 1931 only 10 per cent of the women with jobs in Canada were married*, and in 1941, 13 per cent. But by 1951, 30 per cent of the working women were married. Now the proportion married is well over 40 per cent.

The fact that many working women are married creates for them and for others a situation that is different from that of the worker with few household or family responsibilities. It requires them to play a double role. Because of the household duties that married women generally assume in our society, there is widespread public interest in the effect on Canadian homes when so many wives and mothers are employed in the offices, shops and factories. Particular concern is expressed about the provisions that are made for children when the mother takes on the dual role of worker outside the home and homemaker.

With the above considerations in mind the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour decided to conduct a survey of married women now working outside their homes to discover some of their characteristics, to find out why they are working, what attitudes they take to their work, the kinds of jobs they are doing, and how they manage their dual responsibilities. In short, it was hoped that information could be obtained on the kinds of employment secured and on the effects, if any, on home and family when the wife or mother takes an outside job.

Answers to these questions were sought by interviewing a selected sample of working women in eight Canadian cities, women who either

* Includes permanently separated.

were married or who had been married and were mothers of dependent children. An explanation of how the sample was selected is given in the Methodological Note in the Appendix.

Since widows, divorced and separated women were interviewed only if they had dependent children, the sample used in this Survey is not a cross-section of working women in these three categories. But working women who were married and living with their husbands were interviewed whether or not they had children. For these married women the sample is fairly representative, and they make up 88 per cent of the total.

The information gathered in the Survey relates only to the eight cities listed at the end of this section, and only to the cities proper, excluding the suburbs*. At the time of the 1951 Census about 21 per cent of all the married women in Canada and some 31 per cent of those who were working were in these eight cities.

Only those women were interviewed who had worked for pay or profit in Canada for at least three months within the preceding 12. The interviewing took place in the winter months of 1955-56, mainly in December and January. The form on which the interview was based required consideration of 31 questions, some of them divided into several parts. The interview was therefore necessarily of considerable length. The time taken with each individual varied a good deal, from half an hour to about an hour and a half.

Cities Included in Sample of Married Women Working with Number of Interviews and Weighted Total Sample Used

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of Interviews</i>	<i>Weighted Total Sample</i>
Halifax	50	150
Quebec City	47	124
Montreal	154	1,685
Toronto	179	1,884
Winnipeg	101	507
Saskatoon	41	211
Edmonton	92	464
Vancouver	122	942
Total	786	5,967

* For census purposes metropolitan areas have been established for groups of urban communities in close economic, geographic and social relationship. These include sub-urban and fringe areas which were excluded from this Survey.

For various reasons, not all the interviews were completed as planned. The proportion completed varied from city to city, and on the whole the greatest losses occurred in the larger centres.

In order to allow as far as possible for the change in the total representation that may have resulted from failure to carry out the original sampling plan, each of the actual interviews in the eight centres was weighted, taking into account known socio-economic characteristics of the areas from which the interviewees were drawn. The weights given to the questionnaires varied from three to 35 with most of them counting 10 or less. A final total was arrived at from which overall percentages were then computed.

Who Are the Married Working Women?

The position of married women in the working world has changed greatly in the last few decades. Some historical perspective is given in the introduction, but the main purpose of this Survey was to provide a contemporary picture of the situation of the married women working in Canadian cities. The married women who are working are a varied and ever-changing group. In our society, married women carry the main responsibilities of the home, and this has an important bearing on the pattern of their working lives. Those who are working generally work full time, but for many the continuity of work is interrupted when important matters in their home and family lives make it necessary.

Since the great majority of married women do not work outside the home, those who do have outside jobs probably have reasons for working that are not present, or at least not as compelling for the others.

The women interviewed were found to be considerably younger than the whole population of married women in the Survey cities as shown in the 1956 Census. Those under 25 years of age were relatively more numerous and the proportion aged 45 or over in the eight cities was little more than half that for all married women in the same cities according to the 1956 Census. Women aged 25 to 44 were more heavily represented in the sample than in the whole population of married women in these cities.

There were more young women (under 35) in the samples of the middle western cities than of the eastern centres. Vancouver, too, had a higher percentage under 35 than any city in the East. Except in the case of Edmonton, this is not explained by any great difference in the proportion of married women under 35 in these centres. It may be that the older women can more readily find jobs in the more highly industrialized areas. In the Survey population the smallest proportion of workers 45 or over was found in Edmonton (about 11 per cent) and only 16 per cent in Saskatoon had passed their 45th birthday.

The results of the Survey indicate that women who work have more schooling on the average than those who do not work. The great majority in the sample—about four out of five—had completed elementary school or received some education beyond that. At the time of the 1951 Census about half of the female population 15 years of age and over (not attending school) had received only an elementary education.

The proportion in the sample who had not finished elementary school varied from a low of 6 per cent in Vancouver to over 40 per cent in Montreal. The Vancouver results are in line with census data showing that in British Columbia only 45 per cent of the population 15 and over had less than nine years of schooling, the smallest proportion in any province. In Quebec, 63 per cent had attended school for less than nine years.¹ The situation in Quebec reflects to some extent the fact that compulsory school attendance is of more recent origin there than in most other Canadian provinces.

Although about 80 per cent had completed elementary school only about one in seven had finished high school and a very small proportion—less than one in 25—had been to college. This Survey confirmed the well known fact that the percentage of married women in professional occupations is low. Since professional work not only requires a high level of education, but also demands undivided attention for long periods of time, a high proportion of women engaged in professional work are single.

Some 30 per cent of the married working women in the sample had vocational training of some kind. Secretarial or stenographic training was most common, with a smaller proportion trained as nurses and as school teachers. These three vocations accounted for more than half of the women with vocational training of any kind. The proportion with vocational training varied a good deal in different centres, from a high of over 45 per cent in Saskatoon to a low of less than 20 per cent in Quebec City.

Women trained in business were more likely than others to be using their training in their work. That is, of course, related to the fact that the largest group in the sample—37 per cent—were in clerical occupations. Another 23 per cent were factory workers and 17 per cent were in service jobs. Women in factories are mainly employed in making clothing and textiles. Most of those in service occupations are in personal service which includes employees in hotels, restaurants and laundries

¹ 1951 Census, Vol. X, p. 232.

as well as in private households. Practical nurses are also classified as service workers. Commercial and financial work, with 12 per cent, came next after service occupations. Sales clerks make up the bulk of the commercial group.

The great majority of the women in the sample—about eight out of 10—worked full time. The proportion of part-time workers was highest in the service occupations, followed by commercial and financial occupations which were largely sales positions.

Most of the women in this sample regarded employment as the normal state of affairs and not just a stop-gap. Their commitment to work is evidenced by the fact that about 60 per cent of them had been continuously employed for five years immediately preceding the interview or since taking their first job at least one year before the Survey was made. Also, three out of four said that if they lost their jobs they would look for other work. The fact that many had been off work periodically could largely be explained by occurrences, often unforeseen, that required their full attention at home.

The greatest number of married women in the Survey were earning from \$1,000 to \$1,999. Divorced women tended to earn more than the others; two-thirds received between \$2,000 and \$2,999. They were well represented in the comparatively highly paid clerical occupations. Also, women generally reach the peak of their incomes between the ages of 30 and 39, and a high proportion of the divorced women fell in this age range.

Separated women earned less. Like the divorced, they were generally family heads since these women were included in the Survey only if they had dependent children. In fact, the income distribution of the separated women was not unlike that for women who were living with their husbands. The earning position of the widows was somewhere in between that of the divorced and the separated. More than 60 per cent of the widows were over 45.

The households of the women in the Survey were mostly small both in number of rooms and number of persons. Where both parents were present the household was commonly made up of mother, father and children, if any. When there was a member of a third generation present it was often a grandmother. It was unusual for the families in the sample to have boarders or roomers. The proportion with lodgers was somewhat lower than the 1956 Census shows for all households in the survey cities.

The women generally did their own housework. The few who could afford domestic help were themselves relatively well paid because, as several remarked, there is no cheap domestic help available today. The women in the sample seemed loath to spend money on services, often saying that if they did so it would not pay to work. Except for some use of laundries, paid services were hardly used at all. There was considerable evidence of co-operation from husbands and other relatives in looking after the home.

In nearly half of the homes with a husband and wife both present, there were no dependent children. But where there were dependent children, there was almost a 50-50 chance that there was at least one child of pre-school age. Some women heads of families had children who were dependent on them for support but did not make their home with them. There were also a few such cases where both parents had full-time jobs.

Where there were children in the home, arrangements for their care seemed to depend on their age and on the alternatives available. Grandmothers in the home or nearby solved the problem for many, making it possible for their daughters and daughters-in-law to work. In the larger families the older children took considerable responsibility for those who were younger. Pre-school children were sometimes boarded out with friends or neighbours. In other families, mother's working hours permitted her to remain at home until father came to take over.

The mothers generally maintained that they were satisfied with their present arrangements for care of their children, although many said they would like to have more time to spend with them. There was not much evidence of the use of day nurseries. Those with small children seemed reluctant to consider any plan that would require removal of a child from his home. For children of school age, mothers would welcome after-school care.

There was a higher proportion of women born outside Canada in the sample than in the whole population of these cities. This is due partly to the selection of the sample from the central areas where immigrants are likely to live. Also, wives are more likely to work while families are becoming established in a new land. A further factor is that many immigrants of recent years have been people of working age.

The answers given in this Survey showed that the married working woman—especially if she has children—is busy indeed. She would very much like to have shorter working hours, particularly an earlier end to her working day. The reason given for this was usually so that

she could be home in time to meet the children on their return from school, or to put the supper on. But because so many of these women are working to raise the family standard of living, and they are not high-income earners, it was common for them to add that to make it worthwhile they had to work full time. That they were achieving their goal to a large degree is brought out in the information about their husbands' incomes as related to the combined incomes of husbands and wives (See Chapter IV.) It is further shown by the way in which the women spent their earnings. (See Chapter V.)

Summary

The married working women in the sample were, on the whole, younger and better educated than married women generally. Eighty per cent were full-time workers. The largest group of women earned from \$1,000 to \$1,999. The 30 per cent who had vocational training were mainly stenographers, nurses or teachers.

Most of these women carried the main responsibility for their household work. Few had paid help, but households were small and husbands and relatives helped to lighten the load.

In nearly half of the homes where there was a husband present there were no children. Arrangements for child care were generally made at or near home, little use being made of agencies organized for the purpose.

It was clear that for many of these women the load was heavy, but there was a general acceptance of their dual role, and few complained of their lot. Those who did, spoke mainly of feeling continually rushed and of missing the companionship of their children and time to spend at ease with their husbands. A considerable number expressed the view that if a married woman works she must accept the same conditions as other workers.

II

What Are They Doing?

As shown in Table 1, more than a third of the women in the sample were clerical workers. That is, they were doing some kind of office work. The next largest group—some 23 per cent—were employed in manufacturing occupations which means that they were directly engaged in the process of manufacture or repair. Then came the service employees, largely made up of hotel, restaurant and household workers. These three main groups together constituted more than three-quarters of the whole sample.

Table 1

MWW:* Percentage Distribution by Occupation

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Clerical	37.2
Manufacturing and mechanical	22.7
Service	16.9
Commerce and finance	11.5
Managerial and professional	9.3
Transportation and communication	2.0
Construction, labourers, not stated	0.4
Total	100.0

* Throughout the tables MWW refers to the weighted sample of married women working, i.e. unless otherwise stated the number corresponding to 100 per cent is 5,967.

The three leading occupational groups in the above table were also in the forefront as employers of married women in Canada at the time of the 1951 Census. Because a high proportion of professional working women are single, the managerial and professional group was third largest for all women working in Canada in 1951, but manufacturing was not far behind.

The Census, too, showed clerical work as the job of the largest number, but service occupations of one kind or another came next with manufacturing third. The higher proportion in service occupations

according to the Census is partly accounted for by the fact that widows, who are found in large numbers in unskilled service jobs, were excluded from the Survey if they had no dependent children. This would eliminate the older ones who are more likely to be in unskilled jobs. But even taking that into account, the proportion found in service occupations in this Survey was not as high as might have been expected from census information.

Both clerical and factory workers were naturally a larger part of the sample, made up of city women, than the Census shows for all women in the labour force or for married women working in 1951.

Only in Montreal and Quebec City did the Survey find more women in manufacturing than in clerical work. The census data for 1951 show that married women in Montreal were more likely than single women to be working in the factories. This was not the case in Quebec City.

The very small proportion in both Montreal and Quebec City samples who were in service occupations is not supported by the census data. According to the Census the proportion in service jobs in these cities was higher not only for married women but for all working women.

In Winnipeg the Survey found, as the Census shows for all married women workers, a slightly higher proportion in service occupations than in clerical work. But of all women workers in Winnipeg, according to the 1951 Census, clerical workers were by far the largest single group.

The service occupations were second in importance for all women with jobs according to the labour force survey estimates for December 10, 1955 (a date when the Survey interviewing was in progress). Roughly 32 per cent were then in clerical work, 20 per cent in service occupations and 15 per cent in manufacturing.¹

The evidence seems to be that in the whole sample the service group is under-represented and there is a considerably greater representation from the clerical workers than would be expected from census data and other sources of information. The proportion of factory workers also seems rather high.

Considering the industries in which the women were working, i.e. the types of establishments in which they were employed regardless of the nature of their work, the three that led were service, manufacturing and trade, which together made up more than 85 per cent of the sample.

¹Unpublished figures from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, hereafter referred to as DBS.

(See Table 2.) The classification by industries should be distinguished from classification by occupations. For instance, all persons employed by manufacturing firms, whether engaged in production in the factory or in clerical work in the office, are classified as workers in the manufacturing industry. The result is that the proportion shown in the manufacturing industry (Table 2) is considerably greater than the proportion in manufacturing and mechanical occupations in Table 1. The manufacturing industry was by far the most important one for married women working in all three cities in the more highly industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec: Montreal, Quebec City and Toronto. These cities, particularly Montreal and Toronto, are centres for industries that employ large numbers of women, such as the clothing and textile industries. In the other five centres the service industry was the leading employer. In Vancouver and Edmonton it accounted for more than 40 per cent of the sample, and in Halifax and Saskatoon one-half of the total.

Because retail stores employ so many part-time sales people, the kind of work they offer is attractive to women with household or family responsibilities. The fact that the western cities are largely distribution centres rather than manufacturing cities is reflected in the high proportion of women in the sample in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Vancouver engaged in trade. The bulk of them were working in retail or chain stores, mainly as sales clerks, cashiers, etc.

Table 2

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Industry

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Service	31.5
Manufacturing	31.4
Trade	24.7
Other*	12.4
Total	100.0

* More than half of these were in finance, insurance or real estate.

The three above-mentioned industries were also the leading ones both for married women workers and for all working women according to the 1951 Census. In the Survey sample, the proportion was somewhat lower than in the Census for service workers and somewhat higher for manufacturing and trade. A large number of factory workers and

sales clerks is to be expected in a sample drawn mainly from the central areas of large cities.

In the sample a higher proportion of widows and divorced women than of the married and the separated were in managerial and professional work. Of course widows are apt to be older than the average working woman, and some would no doubt inherit businesses from their husbands. The separated women were more likely than others to be found in the service occupations that generally require little training or skill.

Because of their other interests and commitments it is sometimes alleged that women are apt to waste their training.¹ It has been shown in the United States that, by comparison with single women of the same ages, working mothers are heavily concentrated in jobs requiring less skill and training. This is explained in part by "preference of mothers for jobs that they can hold part time or intermittently".² With a view to assessing the relation of their training to the kinds of jobs they were doing, all the women interviewed who had either completed high school or received some special training were asked how they felt their work was related to their education and experience. Also, the interviewer's opinion on this question was recorded in every case.

While no tabulation of the answers was made, a review of them indicates that with few exceptions the women in the sample stated, and the interviewers agreed, that their work was all they could expect, considering their qualifications, and in some cases in view of their other commitments. The influence of their home responsibilities showed up in the not uncommon remark that if they were prepared to take full-time work, some other arrangement of hours, etc., they could get better jobs.

The foreign-born women were more apt to say they felt their work was not suited to their education and experience. Those with a language handicap would probably be under-employed for the first few years in a new country.

Although there were a number of important exceptions, there appeared to be a clear relationship between education and training on the one hand and the kinds of jobs the women were doing. In the three kinds of work (clerical, manufacturing and service) in which three-quarters of the sample were employed, the most desirable and

¹ See *Women's Two Roles, Home and Work*, Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, London, 1956, p. 108.

² *Womanpower*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1957, p. 69.

often the best paid were the clerical jobs. It was in clerical work that more than 60 per cent of the high school graduates were found. (See Table 3.)

It should be kept in mind that women with high school education were apt to be younger than the average, and that young girls are likely to take office jobs if they can get them. Today there is a steady demand for office workers.

But those who had not finished high school were more likely to be working in factories or service jobs. These were the occupations of 40 to 50 per cent of them, and of those who had not completed elementary school, three out of four were in factory or service work.

A considerable number of the women in the sample were in commercial and financial occupations—many of them sales clerks. Those with some high school education but not complete high school were most likely of all to be found in this type of work.

As to the women who had vocational training, those with stenographic skills were most likely to be using them in their work. About 90 per cent were in office jobs where presumably they could use their training. Roughly 60 per cent of the women trained as nurses were in managerial or professional jobs, many probably making use of their training. Practical nurses too, appeared to be employed in related types of work. But a very small proportion—not more than 16 per cent—of those with teacher's training were practising their profession. There was a high proportion of teachers in both clerical work and factory jobs.

Women with various other kinds of vocational training seem to have found employment mainly in clerical occupations, although one in five was in a service job. There were, of course, some women in the Survey who had education and training that was not being used in their work. However, there is little evidence to suggest that the married working women are not making reasonable use of their education and training. Of those doing the kinds of work that require the least training, more than 35 per cent had not completed elementary school and another group of roughly the same size had completed elementary school but not high school. Some women preferred a job that perhaps did not make use of all their skills but offered a work schedule that fitted in better with their other responsibilities.

Table 3
MW: Percentage Distribution by Occupation, by Education

Education	Occupation								Weighted Total
	Manage- rial and profes- sional	Clerical	Transpor- tation and communi- cation	Commerce and Finance	Ser- vice	Manufac- turing	Construction, labourers and not stated	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Elementary school not completed	10.4	10.8	.....	5.2	21.3	51.9	0.4	100.0	(1,204)
High school not completed	2.4	27.4	3.2	22.8	21.7	21.8	0.6	99.9	(1,913)
Finished high school	5.2	62.2	0.6	9.0	8.9	14.2	.....	100.1	(903)
Finished university	57.0	43.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	(100)
Graduate or professional degree	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	(53)
Vocational training, steno, etc.	4.5	89.9	.....	1.6	1.6	1.6	0.8	100.0	(623)
Vocational training, nursing	60.4	9.2	3.0	3.0	24.4*	.....	.....	100.0	(164)
Vocational training, normal school ...	15.7	25.0	15.7	9.3	10.7	23.6	.....	100.0	(140)
Vocational training, other	9.0	40.7	2.9	9.0	21.9	16.3	0.2	100.0	(867)
All MWV	9.3	37.2	2.0	11.5	16.9	22.7	0.4	100.0	(5,967)

* The large proportion in service occupations is due to inclusion of practical nurses.

Summary

The occupations that employed the largest number of women in the sample were the same ones that employ most married women in Canada as well as most Canadian women, i.e. clerical work. Because so many of these women are young and fairly well educated, it is natural that they should be in the offices where young women—especially those with education and training—are in great demand, and where they often find work to their liking.

Factory work occupied the next largest group in the sample, a higher proportion than would be expected from other sources of information. Service employees, on the other hand, appear to be under-represented in the sample.

The industries in which these women were employed varied a good deal in different parts of the country, depending on opportunity and other factors. In the industrial provinces of Ontario and Quebec manufacturing was, of course, to the fore. In the cities located outside these two provinces, the service industry employed the largest number in the sample.

By and large, the women in the Survey appeared to be making good use of their education and training. If they had finished high school they were likely to be in clerical jobs. Those with less education had found their way into unskilled occupations. If they had vocational training they were generally in jobs where they could make use of it. However, a considerable number of women with teacher's training had taken up clerical work.

III

Are They Regular Members of the Labour Force?

From the point of view of the employer who is hiring married women or continuing to employ women after they marry, it is important to know how their change of status may affect their work. Does the fact that they are married make any difference to their work performance? Myrdal and Klein observe that, "Economically speaking, girls before marriage live a man's life".¹ However, as the years go by the work experience of the sexes becomes markedly different.²

To give a complete answer to the question posed in this chapter, even for the women in the sample, would require information from other sources than just the individuals themselves. Also, a thorough analysis would need to be made of the employment records of these women from the time they first began to work. As has been stated, this report deals only with the situation at the time of the interviews, but analysis of questions concerning past performance and future plans does give an indication of continuity of employment. It is therefore possible to measure to some extent the degree of attachment to the labour force.

It should be kept in mind though, that the sample is made up of women who were in the working force at the time of the interviews. Since only a small minority of married women work outside the home at any given time, generalizations cannot be made about patterns of work of all married women, even in the eight Survey cities.

Because home and family rather than a job are the central theme of life for most women, women are more likely than men to be in and out of the labour force during a lifetime. This means that the married women working at any particular time represent many different patterns of attachment to the labour force, a few of which should be mentioned.

¹ *Women's Two Roles, Home and Work*, op. cit. p. 33.

² See "The Working Life of Women", *The Labour Gazette*, September, 1957, p. 1060.

There are those who, like most single women, have worked without interruption since they left school. These are likely to be childless women or young women whose mothers or mothers-in-law take care of the grandchildren.

One young childless woman of about 30 who has worked since she was 18, and was married at 20, said: "There is no difference between being single or married as far as work for me is concerned." Her husband earns about \$2,800, she around \$1,800.

Another woman of 50, also without children, has been a secretary in the same place for 32 years. She says she loves her job and dislikes housework.

Then there are the women who have taken paid jobs when their child-rearing days were over. Now that marriages take place at an early age, families are being completed while the mother is young, making it possible for mothers, after a few years, to consider at least some work outside the home.

A woman in her late thirties who had not worked since her marriage at 22, took part-time work as a clerk in a retail store when her daughter was 14. She works from 11.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. because, "I like the first few hours home in the morning."

Women who have time to devote to outside work but cannot give up a full day, make up a high proportion of the part-time workers. Although part-time workers represent a small part of the labour force, the importance of part-time employment to women with family responsibilities is reflected in the fact that while women make up roughly one quarter of the labour force, they hold roughly half of the part-time jobs. There is always a great demand for the kind of job that can be fitted in with a woman's home responsibilities.

Typical of many was a mother of a 12-year-old girl whose husband earned \$3,600. She worked part time in a retail store. She said she "wouldn't like full-time work but prefers to be working part of the time to being at home all the time."

In a sense every worker plays two roles: one at the office or factory and another as a member of a family or other personal group. But because women bear the children and take the main responsibility for rearing them, they are more likely than the men to find themselves in a position where the two roles conflict.

The information gathered in this Survey suggests that the relation of the married woman to her job is influenced by many factors. Among the more important ones the following have been singled out for analysis: her age, the size of her family, whether or not she is a full-time worker, her motive for working and her income. Her income is, of course, often related to her motive for working.

Table 4 shows that nearly 60 per cent of the women in the sample had been working continuously for the five years preceding the Survey or since their first entry into the labour force at least one year earlier.*

It was the women in the older age groups who were most likely to show a record of continuous employment. Their family responsibilities were probably lessening; one half of those who were 45 years old or over had no dependent children. Also, among the older ones a considerable number were widows, divorced and separated women, many of whom would be the main breadwinners for their families or themselves. Heavy responsibilities of this kind would naturally tend to keep them steadily at work. Further, older women would be aware that it would not be as easy for them as for the younger ones to find other jobs.

Table 4

MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long in Labour Force, by Age Group

Age Group	Time in Labour Force					Weighted Total
	<i>Continuously Last Five Years or Since Entry and At Least One Year</i>	<i>Not Continuously During Last Five Years</i>	<i>Less than One Year in All</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Years	%	%	%	%	%	
14-19	44.9	33.9	21.2	.....	100.0	(118)
20-24	58.5	39.4	2.0	.....	99.9	(832)
25-34	53.4	45.8	0.2	0.5	99.9	(2,053)
35-44	60.8	38.7	0.6	.....	100.1	(1,774)
45-54	65.0	32.8	2.2	.....	100.0	(920)
55-64	78.5	21.5	.....	.....	100.0	(256)
All Ages	59.1	39.4	1.3	0.2	100.0	(5,967)*

*Includes 10 with age unknown and 4 aged 65 and over.

The proportion with a record of continuous employment increases regularly with each advancing age group except for a drop between 25 and 34, a period in which mothers are likely to have young children. It is interesting that in all the age groups except for the few teenagers, more than half of the women in the sample reported continuous employment for the preceding five years or since entry into the labour force at least a year before the interview.

* These categories were coded together.

The future plans of these women do not seem to be out of line with their past performance. Most of the women under 35 looked on their jobs as temporary. It was the older women who were less likely to say they planned to quit work soon. (See Table 5.) This is one reason why, in the prairie cities where the percentage of women in the sample under 35 years of age was consistently higher than in the East—and also to some extent in Vancouver—a high proportion looked forward to withdrawing before long.

Table 5

MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Intend to Work, by Age Group

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>How Long Intend to Work</i>				<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Indefinitely or Until Retirement</i>	<i>Until Date in Near Future</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>	
<i>Years</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
14-19	4.2	78.8	17.0	100.0	(118)
20-24	11.9	78.8	9.2	99.9	(832)
25-34	36.7	55.8	7.6	100.1	(2,053)
35-44	66.3	25.0	8.7	100.0	(1,774)
45-54	73.3	21.1	5.6	100.0	(920)
55-64	75.0	13.3	11.7	100.0	(256)
All Ages	48.8	43.0	8.2	100.0	(5,967)*

* Includes 10 with age unknown and 4 aged 65 and over.

The steady drop with increasing age in the proportion who plan to stop working soon is striking. In the teen-age group and up to the age of 24, more than 75 per cent said they would withdraw in the near future. In the next age-decade (25-34) about 55 per cent expressed this intention. Between 35 and 44, only 25 per cent said that was their plan. There was a further drop in the 45-54 age group, and finally, between 55 and 64, only 13 per cent had such an intention in mind. It seems that married women in the sample who are in the labour force at that stage of life generally expect to work until they retire.

Table 6 shows that the age factor also enters into the woman's thinking when she contemplates what she would do if she lost her job. Nearly three-quarters of the whole sample said they would look for other work, but in the age group 45 to 64 the proportion was even higher.

*Table 6***MWW: Percentage Distribution by What Do If Job Lost, by Age Group**

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>What Do If Job Lost</i>				<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Look for Work</i>	<i>Leave Labour Force</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>	
<i>Years</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
14-19	74.6	25.4	.....	100.0	(118)
20-24	65.6	29.2	5.2	100.0	(832)
25-34	74.1	20.0	5.8	99.9	(2,053)
35-44	73.1	20.1	6.8	100.0	(1,774)
45-54	80.5	14.2	5.2	99.9	(920)
55-64	82.4	11.7	5.9	100.0	(256)
All Ages	74.0	20.2	5.8	100.0	(5,967)*

* Includes 10 with age unknown and 4 aged 65 and over.

Not only did a high proportion of these women look on themselves as permanent workers, but as shown in Table 7 the great majority—some 80 per cent—of the women in the sample worked full time. Less than 15 per cent were part-time workers in that they were on the job less than 35 hours a week. Casual workers, i.e., those who worked occasionally or intermittently, made up less than 4 per cent of the sample, and somewhat under 3 per cent were seasonal workers.

*Table 7***MWW: Percentage Distribution by Hours of Work per Week**

<i>Hours per Week</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
14 or under	2.5
15-24	5.8
25-34	5.9
35-44	69.0
45-54	10.4
55 plus	2.2
Unknown	4.2*
Total	100.0

* Represents 248.

The full-time workers were more likely than others to say they planned to retire at some date in the near future. The majority of the part-time, seasonal and casual workers had no plans for withdrawing from the labour force soon. (See Table 8.) It may be that those who were not working full time found it easier to fulfil their obligations at work and at home.

One respondent whose husband earned over \$5,000 and who was herself a part-time worker said the married working women she knows have picked hours suitable to their home responsibilities. The interviewer noted that: "She seemed to need to draw the dividing line between the full-time working woman who needed the money and herself."

A mother of three small children who worked occasionally as a private duty nurse said she did not find it too much of a trial because "she knows she can quit any time she wants to." In spite of this the woman did have a genuine interest in her work.

Table 8

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Intend to Work,
By Worker Status**

<i>How Long Intend to Work</i>	<i>Worker Status</i>				
	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Seasonal</i>	<i>Casual</i>	<i>All MWW</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Indefinitely or until retirement	44.5	63.0	68.8	71.1	48.8
Until date in near future	46.9	31.6	28.0	15.6	43.0
Unknown	8.6	5.4	3.2	13.3	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(4,721)	(871)	(157)	(218)	(5,967)

The early retirement that nearly half of the full-time workers hoped for may have been just wishful thinking, judging by the answers to the specific question what the woman would do if she lost her job. Table 9 shows that regardless of the fact that so many full-time workers planned to stop work soon, they were just as likely as part-time workers to say they would seek other work if they became unemployed. It is significant that roughly three out of four of these working women said they would look for other work if they lost their jobs. Some light is thrown on the reasons for this in Chapter V.

Table 9

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by What Do If Job Lost,
by Worker Status**

<i>What Do If Job Lost</i>	<i>Worker Status</i>				<i>All MWW</i>
	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time</i>	<i>Seasonal</i>	<i>Casual</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Look for work	75.4	72.2	55.4	64.2	74.0
Leave labour force	18.5	23.2	41.4	29.8	20.2
Unknown	6.1	4.6	3.2	6.0	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(4,721)	(871)	(157)	(218)	(5,967)

Whether or not a married woman intends to continue to work appears to depend to some extent on why she is working. It seems that intention to continue working indefinitely is more likely to be found among women who have some positive attraction to the work situation rather than a feeling that they are pushed by economic reasons alone or by boredom. Of those who said they were working to improve their competence or to gain recognition, to preserve their health and youth, or because they were interested in the job or organization, over 60 per cent had no plans to withdraw. This was a considerably higher proportion than among the women for whom there seemed to be not so much an outside factor drawing them in as a situation in the home that pushed them out. (See Chapter V.)

A woman in her early twenties who had continued to work since marriage a year earlier, said she would give up working after another year. She felt she gained nothing but the money. She did not enjoy her work "for work's sake" and her interest in it had waned since her marriage. Her husband earned \$3,700.

On the other hand a woman of 50 who has worked for several years in an office said, "I'm tired at times—sure—but it's still worth it." She told the interviewer that she "gains satisfaction from the job and enjoys meeting people." She feels working keeps her mentally alert, and she added, "I detest housework." To the question about how long she expects to go on working she replied, "The longer I work, the younger I feel."

The feeling of attachment to the job appeared to be strongest among women earning \$4,000 or more. (See Table 10.) Since a very small proportion of the women in the sample, and indeed of all Canadian women, are in this high income group, those who earned such a high salary would probably be reluctant to give it up. It seems likely that the

high-income earners would have spent a long time—perhaps many years—at the job, and this tends to make people more attached to their work. It may be too, that women with the highest incomes also have the more interesting work.

Table 10

MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Intend to Work, by Income Class

<i>Income Class</i>	<i>How Long Intend to Work</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Indefinitely or Until Retirement</i>	<i>To Date in Near Future</i>	<i>Unknown</i>		
\$	%	%	%	%	
Under 1,000	52.5	38.3	9.2	100.0	(1,319)
1,000-1,999	48.9	43.4	7.7	100.0	(2,205)
2,000-2,999	43.2	50.0	6.8	100.0	(1,715)
3,000-3,999	50.7	40.0	9.4	100.1	(373)
4,000-4,999	69.8	30.2	.....	100.0	(53)
5,000 plus	100.0	.....	.....	100.0	(37)
All Incomes	48.8	43.0	8.2	100.0	(5,967)*

* Includes 265 with income unknown.

The age factor enters into this also. Attachment to the job seems to grow with age, and the women who earned upwards of \$4,000 were considerably older than the general run of working women in the sample. Nearly two-thirds of them were over 45 as compared with less than 20 per cent in this age group overall.

There is further evidence that women with the better-paid jobs—probably also older than most others—feel more permanently attached to the labour force than the average married woman worker. High-income wives are likely to have husbands with high or potentially high incomes. (See Chapter IV.) When future work plans are cross-tabulated with husbands' incomes (Table 11) it is revealed that except for those whose husbands (some of whom would be students) earned less than \$1,000, women with husbands earning \$5,000 or more were most likely to say they planned to continue indefinitely or until retirement. Only 27 per cent of them looked forward to withdrawing soon, whereas in the whole sample 43 per cent of the women expressed the intention of so doing. The proportion saying they hope to stop work soon, grows with

the rise in the husband's income until he is earning \$4,000 or more, then it drops. One possible explanation for this is illustrated by the following:

A woman doctor with a husband earning well over \$5,000 said she felt she could afford to work because she could hire help to do the housework and so have time for her family.

Table 11

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Wife Intends to Work,
by Husband's Income**

<i>Husband's Income</i>	<i>How Long Wife Intends to Work</i>				<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Indefinitely or Until Retirement</i>	<i>To Date in Near Future</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>	
\$	%	%	%	%	
Under 1,000	85.8	6.6	7.6	100.0	(1,033)
1,000-1,999	48.8	44.8	6.4	100.0	(453)
2,000-2,999	41.9	52.8	5.4	100.1	(1,304)
3,000-3,999	31.7	58.4	9.9	100.0	(1,768)
4,000-4,999	46.2	47.4	6.4	100.0	(625)
5,000 plus	63.3	27.0	9.7	100.0	(207)
All Incomes	48.8	43.0	8.2	100.0	(5,967)*

* Includes 577 with husband's income unknown or not applicable.

Naturally, a much higher proportion of widowed, divorced and separated women than of those with husbands expressed the intention of working until they retired. As shown in Table 12 nearly half of those with husbands present said they planned to leave the labour force soon.

Table 12

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Intend to Work,
by Marital Status**

<i>How Long Intend to Work</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>				
	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Separated</i>	<i>All MWW</i>
Indefinitely or until retirement	%	%	%	%	%
Until date in near future	43.0	83.1	95.7	98.2	48.8
Unknown	48.4	6.2	4.3	.....	43.0
	8.5	10.8	.....	1.8	8.2
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(5,246)	(325)	(116)	(280)	(5,967)

Table 13 which shows that women whose husbands were in the higher income groups were more likely to be working part time than the group as a whole, tends to support the theory that if a married woman is free to choose, she is likely to prefer part-time work. This preference can become a factor only if there are sufficient part-time jobs available or if the economic circumstances of the family do not tend to make full-time employment necessary. As has been stated, suitable part-time jobs are generally at a premium.

Table 13

MWW: Part-time Workers as Percentage of All Married Women Workers, by Husband's Income

<i>Husband's Income</i> \$	<i>Percentage Working Part Time</i>	<i>Weighted Total</i>
Under 1,000	12.1	(125)
1,000-1,999	18.5	(84)
2,000-2,999	10.8	(141)
3,000-3,999	13.8	(244)
4,000 plus	20.0	(166)
All Incomes	14.2	(849)*

* Includes 89 with husband's income unknown.

Professor Zweig contends that in the United Kingdom married women, and especially those with children at home, accept full-time employment only because part-time work is not available.¹ If that is so, many who are not now working could probably be recruited if part-time jobs were more plentiful. However, in this sample of Canadian married women workers the women were working mainly for financial reasons and few of the full-time workers felt they could earn enough in part-time employment to make the effort worthwhile.

A young mother whose baby was left with the grandmother worked full time to help her husband pay off the mortgage. She thinks ideal hours for a married woman would be part time. She herself "can't afford to work part time."

The inference is that further recruitment of part-time workers would come mainly from among women in a better financial position or women who were able to earn a substantial sum by working part time.

¹ *Women's Life and Labour*, F. Zweig, London, 1952, p. 119.

There is no doubt about the widespread desire of working mothers for more time to spend with the children. It seems likely that this desire would be expressed by the women reducing their working hours if they felt it was possible for them. Table 14 shows that as the number of children grows the mother is less likely to be working full time. No doubt as family responsibilities increase, the desire and need grow for some lessening of the load at the office or the factory. It is interesting though, to note that although women with three or more children are a very small part of this sample, nearly 60 per cent of them appear to find it necessary to work full time. Of course very few mothers of three are working outside. Women with responsibilities as heavy as that are not likely to be working unless they are under great financial pressure.

When mothers feel they must work they generally continue to put their children's welfare above everything else. Since the incidence of illness among children is much higher than among adults, it probably accounts for some of the difference in absentee rates between women and men.

The attitude of many other mothers too, is represented in the enumerator's summary concerning one woman: "She makes it a rule never to leave the children if they are ill."

On the other hand a widow who would have no alternative said, "Well . . . if they're sick I have to leave them unless it is serious . . ."

Table 14

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Worker Status, by Number of Dependent Children

<i>Number of Dependent Children</i>	<i>Worker Status</i>			<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Full-time</i>	<i>Part-time, Seasonal or Casual</i>	<i>Total</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
0	86.2	13.8	100.0	(2,629)
1	77.9	22.1	100.0	(1,718)
2	72.6	27.4	100.0	(1,177)
3 plus	58.9	41.1	100.0	(443)
All MWW	79.1	20.9	100.0	(5,967)

Summary

It was pointed out at the beginning of this Chapter that the information analyzed does not give an exhaustive answer to the question to what extent these married women are regular members of the labour force.

Aside from the fact that a high proportion of those in the sample need or feel they need the money (See Chapter V), it seems that age and the presence or anticipation of children, are the most important influences in determining the feeling of attachment to the labour force. The older women are more likely to have a record of continuous employment, to plan to work indefinitely and to say they would look for other work if they lost their jobs. This is, of course, related to the fact that they are less likely to have dependent children. It should be pointed out that this is a sample of women who are working. Most women with children are not in the labour force.

Women who have some positive interest other than economic that pulls them into the labour force appear to be somewhat more permanently attached to their jobs than the general run of married women found in this Survey. Women earning the higher incomes tend to fall in this category, but again the age factor enters, because the high-income earners are more likely to be found in the "45 and over" age group. (Of course this is not to suggest that the older women in the sample were generally high-income earners.)

Most of the women in the sample do not regard work outside the home as unusual for them. They have been working continuously for some time—the vast majority in full-time jobs—and they expect to continue as working women. It is when the children arrive that women seem to find part-time jobs if possible. But part-time jobs are usually scarce; also, those who feel they must work for financial reasons are often compelled to work full time if the effort is to be worthwhile. Part-time jobs are a luxury that few women in this sample felt they could afford.

The fact that such a small proportion of married women do work outside the home at any one time is in itself an indication that for woman the home is still central. Even for these women who are working the evidence suggests that work is not generally the main theme of their lives. For most of them the reasons for working are tied up with their primary interest of improving the lot of their families.

IV

What Do they and Their Husbands Earn?

The women themselves

Table 15 shows that nearly 60 per cent of the women earned less than \$2,000 in the year preceding the Survey, and close to 90 per cent got less than \$3,000. Women earning between \$1,000 and \$1,999 made up the largest group.

Table 15

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Own Income

<i>Own Income</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
\$	
Under 1,000	22.1
1,000-1,999	37.0
2,000-2,999	28.7
3,000-3,999	6.2
4,000 plus	1.5
Unknown or not applicable	4.4
Total	99.9

Some comparisons with other sources of data are of value, although they are not precise.

In 1954 the DBS made a survey of the distribution of non-farm incomes in Canada by size. The incomes of the women in this sample were considerably higher than those found in that national survey. In 1954, 29 per cent of employed women and 37 per cent of women whose major source of income was wages and salaries, received less than \$1,000.¹ Those who got between \$1,000 and \$1,999 were roughly the same proportion as in this sample, but the sample shows a higher

¹ *Distribution of Non-Farm Incomes in Canada by Size, 1954*, DBS Reference Paper 66, 1956, Tables 19 and 22.

proportion earning from \$2,000 to \$2,999: 29 per cent as against just 24 per cent of all employed women and 21 per cent of those whose major source of income is wages and salaries.

One factor that would tend to make the incomes of the women in this sample higher than the average for non-farm working women is that they are all from the larger metropolitan centres where incomes are higher than elsewhere. Also, the lower income groups are generally dominated by the very young and the very old, both of whom form a small part of this sample. Most very young women are single, and therefore not included. Women in their thirties, who are likely to be at the peak incomes, are heavily represented here.

In the "\$4,000 and over" group this Survey found about the same proportion of working women as did the DBS national survey.

And their husbands

The husbands of the women in this sample are not a cross-section of Canadian men or even of all husbands in Canada. They are a group of men in the eight Survey cities who all have in common the fact that their wives are working.

The reason for directing attention to their earnings is that it seems likely that a husband's income may influence his wife's decision whether or not to work. Also, the financial situation of the families with working wives is better understood when the husbands' incomes as well as the wives' are examined. At the end of this Chapter, therefore, a look is taken at the combined incomes of husbands and wives.

It has already been shown in Chapter III that the husband's income does appear to influence his working wife's feeling of permanency as a member of the labour force; also, it has some bearing on the kind of job she is likely to be doing. For instance, if her husband is a high-income earner she is probably in a better position to choose part-time work when it is available.

Although there are many exceptions, by and large the incomes of these husbands are relatively low compared with the general population of Canadian men. However, as would be expected, the men usually earn more than their wives. The largest group—about 30 per cent—received an income between \$3,000 and \$3,999 which is neither extremely low nor high. Of all the husbands, half earned between \$2,000 and \$3,999.

The proportion of these husbands in the middle-income groups was not unlike that in the whole population of male non-farm employees as of 1954. But at the higher end of the scale as well as the lower, the

difference is apparent between these men and other working men. The men located through the Survey were more likely to be earning under \$1,000 and less likely to be earning \$4,000 and over. Twenty-four per cent of Canadian male employees (non-farm) earned \$4,000 or more in 1954¹, an income received by only 14 per cent of the husbands in this sample. This was true in spite of the fact that these married men would probably be older than the general population including single men, and that the sample was selected from the larger cities where incomes would be relatively high.

It can be seen from Table 16 that a high proportion (70 per cent) of the husbands in the low-income groups (\$1,000-\$2,999) had wives earning less than \$2,000. The higher-income husbands were more likely to have higher-income wives up to the point where the husbands' incomes reached \$5,000 or more. Women with husbands in this highest income class were few, which makes it difficult to generalize about them.

Table 16

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Own Income, by Husband's Income

<i>Own Income (\$)</i>	<i>Husband's Income * (\$)</i>					
	<i>Under 1,000</i>	<i>1,000- 1,999</i>	<i>2,000- 2,999</i>	<i>3,000- 3,999</i>	<i>4,000- 4,999</i>	<i>5,000 plus</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under 1,000	18.1	26.5	20.2	23.8	14.6	36.2
1,000-1,999	26.8	46.1	51.2	33.3	39.5	25.6
2,000-2,999	34.3	13.5	24.0	34.8	37.1	15.9
3,000-3,999	11.3	3.3	2.6	7.2	6.7	10.1
4,000 plus	2.3	4.0	0.8	.....	2.1	12.1
Unknown	7.2	6.6	1.2	0.8	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
Weighted Total	(1,033)	(453)	(1,304)	(1,768)	(625)	(207)

* 577 with husband's income unknown or not applicable.

But they were most likely of all in the sample to be earning under \$1,000. This suggests that where financial pressure is probably least the married woman chooses her work and hours to fit in with her other responsibilities rather than from purely financial considerations.

For instance, a social worker with a three-month old child worked two days a week at her own convenience. (Her husband earned \$5,000).

A music teacher whose husband earns \$5,200 teaches 10½ hours per week. She reported that she could teach more pupils if she wished but "what she finds interesting for a few hours she would not find interesting all day." She arranges her working hours to suit her own convenience.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table 19.

Women who are family heads

When a woman is herself head of her family by reason of the death of her husband, separation or divorce, her position as a wage-earner is in many ways similar to that of a married man. Because women in that position were generally found to have no source of income other than their own earnings, they are considered separately.

As shown in Table 17, two-thirds of the divorced women in the sample were earning between \$2,000 and \$2,999. Widows were more likely than divorced women to fall below this income. However, a higher proportion of widows than of the divorced women received \$3,000 or more.

Table 17

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Own Income, by Marital Status

<i>Own Income</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>			
	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Separated</i>
\$	%	%	%	%
Under 1,000	22.4	20.9	12.9	22.5
1,000-1,999	38.4	22.2	16.4	34.6
2,000-2,999	28.2	27.7	66.4	23.9
3,000-3,999	5.6	10.8	4.3	15.0
4,000 plus	1.3	6.8	.....	.....
Unknown	4.1	11.7	.....	3.9
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9
Weighted Total	(5,246)	(325)	(116)	(280)

If you consider the proportions earning over and under \$2,000, the pattern for married and separated is roughly similar: about 60 per cent under \$2,000. In the case of widows and divorced women, only 43 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively, reported earnings of less than \$2,000. Since separated women are often the sole support of their families, low income is apt to be more serious for them than for those married women who are working to supplement the incomes of their husbands.

Children in the family

Table 18 shows that women who have no dependent children are likely to be earning more money than those with children. One reason for this is that, as was shown in Chapter III, there is a smaller proportion of part-time workers among them. Nearly half of the full-time workers have no dependent children. Those without children* are somewhat more heavily represented than mothers of dependent children in the \$1,000 to \$1,999 earning range and more so in the next higher one, \$2,000 to \$2,999, but they are scarce in the "under \$1,000" group. Women earning \$4,000 or more are a very small part of the sample.

Table 18

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Own Income, by Number of Dependent Children

<i>Own Income</i>	<i>Number of Dependent Children</i>		
	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2+</i>
\$	%	%	%
Under 1,000	13.3	25.2	33.1
1,000-1,999	39.6	32.9	36.9
2,000-2,999	35.1	27.8	19.4
3,000-3,999	6.8	8.3	3.2
4,000 plus	1.2	2.4	1.0
Unknown	4.0	3.3	6.4
All Incomes	100.0	99.9	100.0
Weighted Total	(2,629)	(1,718)	(1,620)

Combined income of husband and wife

It is when you consider the combined income of husband and wife as shown in Table 19 that the effect of the woman's contribution is revealed. The combined incomes brought more than 30 per cent of the families up to or over \$5,000, an income received by less than 5 per cent of the husbands. It is even more striking that in half of the families the combined income was at least \$4,000 although less than 15 per cent of the husbands alone were in this relatively high income group.

* Here and hereafter "children" means dependent children unless otherwise stated.

*Table 19***MWW: Percentage Distribution by Husband's Income and by Combined Incomes**

<i>Amount of Income</i>	<i>Husband</i>	<i>Combined</i>
\$	%	%
Under 2,000	24.9	8.0
2,000-2,999	21.8	12.3
3,000-3,999	29.6	17.0
4,000-4,999	10.5	20.2
5,000 plus	3.5	31.0
Unknown or not applicable	9.7	11.4
Total	100.0	99.9

The combined incomes of husbands and wives in the sample cannot be precisely compared with total incomes for Canadian families as reported by the DBS, but it is interesting that in 1954 about one in four of all non-farm families, whether there was one income or more, received \$5,000 or over, and about 43 per cent were in the "\$4,000 and over" group.¹ This may be compared with 31 per cent and 51 per cent for all families in this sample. It is obvious that if the families in the sample depended on the husbands' incomes alone they would be well below the cross-section of Canadian urban families in income. With the additional earnings of the wife their family incomes compare favourably with others.

Summary

The women in the sample were better paid than a cross-section of Canadian non-farm working women in 1954. One reason for this is that the sample was drawn from the larger centres where wages are higher than in other parts of Canada. Also, women in their thirties made up a high proportion of the sample population, and it is in those years that women reach their peak incomes. Nevertheless, nearly 60 per cent of the women earned less than \$2,000 in the year preceding the Survey. Only about 8 per cent got \$3,000 or more.

The husbands of these married working women, though better paid than their wives, were on the whole not high-income earners compared with Canadian men generally. The largest group in the sample received between \$3,000 and \$3,999; only about 14 per cent got \$4,000 or more. But when husbands' and wives' incomes were added together, more than half of the families received at least \$4,000.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table 9.

Why Are They Working?

While a woman is single it is now generally taken for granted in our society that she should work for her living. Until fairly recent times it was the custom for her to give up working on marriage and to devote herself exclusively to the duties of a housewife. The role of breadwinner she left to her husband.

Today many influences operate to lighten the burden of the homemaker. Families are smaller (although the 1956 Census shows that there may be a reversal of this trend), and their dwellings are easier to care for; especially in the cities, where the women in the sample live, mechanical aids have helped to lighten the load. The continuing trek of the population from the rural areas to urban centres means that more women are finding themselves in households that require less effort on the part of the housewife. At the same time they are now in a situation where outside work is more readily available to them.

Although the great majority of married women in Canada do not work outside the home, a growing number are now in paid employment, and the double role of homemaker and job holder has gained wide acceptance during the past decade of prosperity. Today's young woman no longer expects to stop work on marriage. That question is not apt to arise for her until the birth of her first child. If she does stop work when the children arrive she may take a paid job again when they become less dependent on her.

The financial situation in the families of this sample of married working women has been analyzed in Chapter IV, and this has provided some clues as to why the particular married women in the Survey population are working. But questions were also put to these women which would help to establish their reasons for taking jobs or continuing in the work they were doing. It is possible to gain some understanding of their motives for working by considering both their replies to direct questions on the subject and the factors in their social and economic situations which would be likely to influence a decision of this kind.

Nowadays marriages usually take place long before the young husbands have reached their eventual income level. In fact, the age of marriage has dropped so much in the last 20 years that many young couples now take on the expense of setting up a household well before the husband alone can bear the cost. Since this is in a time of high prices when many tempting consumer goods are offered, it is not surprising that in equipping a household it is common to undertake long-term commitments. Furthermore, housekeeping is often set up on a scale that takes into account their joint incomes. The wife is likely to be working before she is married, and her employer will probably not only permit her to continue, but will encourage her to do so. Were it not for the wife continuing to work, many marriages would have to be postponed.

As one young woman in this Survey put it, "Working has made earlier marriage possible." Another said that by working she has "gained marriage."

If the young wife gives up working on the birth of her first child, as a good many do, the family is likely to find it difficult to maintain its established standard of living. At the same time as they lose one income, the size and needs of the family are growing. The man's income is usually relatively fixed, so it becomes a choice between reducing—perhaps drastically—the standard of living, and the wife going back to work.

On this continent reduction of the standard of living is undertaken only "under severe compulsion".¹ Of course the judgment as to what is an acceptable standard of living for a family varies a good deal.

Of a young childless couple she met in this Survey the enumerator remarks, "This young couple believe it is impossible to live on less than their combined income of \$6,300, yet they claim they live frugally."

On the other hand there is the mother of two whose husband earns \$3,000. She is supplementing this by working as a part-time waitress. Of her the enumerator says, "She does not like working but because of the poor economic conditions of the family she feels that it is her duty to her husband to work."

The women interviewed were asked what was their purpose in working, and to what extent they felt they were achieving their purpose. Naturally, a great many gave more than one reason for working, but by and large, the women felt that they were achieving their purposes at least to some extent. A judgment was made as to what appeared to be the main reason given for working, and if it was stated simply as the need or desire for the money, that was, of course, an economic reason.

¹ *Womanpower*, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

Similarly, when there was a specific objective named which the woman was helping to pay for, such as a house, car, furniture, TV etc. that was called an economic reason.

A wide variety of replies that were not related to material objectives were considered to be non-economic motives. Some of these had to do with the woman's need to get away from the household or to find companionship; others were tied up with her interest in the work or the organization where she was employed.

As shown in Table 20 about three-quarters of the women in this sample stressed economic motives for working above all others, and another 10 per cent put approximately equal emphasis on economic and other considerations.

The economic motive was most commonly emphasized by women whose husbands were in the lower income groups, but in all income groups of husbands under \$4,000 the economic motive dominated more than three-quarters of the replies. It was not until the husband's income was \$5,000 or over that more than half of the wives put greater emphasis on other reasons for working. The number of women with husbands earning \$5,000 or more was so small that it is not possible to generalize about them.

Table 20

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by Stress on Motive for Working,
by Husband's Income**

<i>Husband's Income</i>	<i>Stress on Motives</i>				<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>Economic Stressed</i>	<i>Non-Economic Stressed</i>	<i>About Equal Emphasis on Economic and Other</i>	<i>Total</i>	
\$	%	%	%	%	
Under 1,000	95.9	2.6	1.4	99.9	(1,033)
1,000-1,999	94.3	2.9	2.9	100.1	(453)
2,000-2,999	88.5	3.8	7.7	100.0	(1,304)
3,000-3,999	76.4	7.8	15.8	100.0	(1,768)
4,000-4,999	57.6	23.4	19.0	100.0	(625)
5,000 plus	15.9	64.2	19.8	99.9	(207)
All Incomes	78.7	10.5	10.8	100.0	(5,967)*

* Includes 577 with husband's income unknown or not applicable.

When a tabulation was made of all those with non-economic motives (whether or not they also mentioned money), it was found (See Table 21) that they constituted little more than half of the sample. The remaining women in the sample spoke of the economic motive and no other reason for working.

Typical of many was a retail sales clerk, mother of a three-year-old who was looked after by his grandmother. Her husband earned \$3,500 and she received \$1,600. She said she liked to work full time because she got more money. In the words of the interviewer, "If her husband earned the amount of their joint income, she would stay at home. She does not enjoy her work."

Those who felt that they were working for other than purely economic reasons were divided between women who said they worked because they did not have enough to do at home and those who were working either because of interest in the job or to fill some personal need such as to meet people, preserve their youth or to gain recognition.

Table 21

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Stated Reasons for Working

<i>Reasons for Working</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Economic motives, no others mentioned	46.9
Non-economic motives among others:	
Interest in job or organization	13.0
Personal fulfilment	11.9
Not enough to do	26.0
Other	2.2
	— 53.1
Total	100.0

Since nearly 80 per cent stressed the economic motive and about 47 per cent advanced no other reason for working than the economic one, it seems fair to assume that roughly 30 per cent of those who emphasized the economic motive had other reasons for working as well. Many who go to work for economic reasons come to enjoy the new life as well as the added income, and so do not stop when the immediate objective is achieved.

One woman went to work for financial reasons at the age of 39 after 17 years at home. When there was no longer need for her to work she continued because she felt it was "keeping her younger, a more alive person."

In spite of the great emphasis on money as the reason for working, the women in the sample were not inclined to say that their husbands' incomes were inadequate. There was no specific question asked about this, and in giving her reasons for working, a married woman's loyalty to her husband would not permit her to reflect on him as a provider for the family. Perhaps this is one reason why it was so common to speak in general terms of raising the family standard of living or of some particular objective they hoped to achieve. There is no doubt that co-operation of husbands and wives to the end of improving the financial position of the family was highly developed in these families.

Typical of many women was one who said: "The extra money just makes the difference between skimping and being able to have the few extras."

A woman whose story was almost duplicated by many others was one without children whose husband earned \$3,000. She said she did not have to work but "I can get more things by working", also get them sooner. She thought she would get them in any case but would have to wait longer if she did not work. Working helps "to make my dreams come true."

The situation was quite different for a couple who were in the lower half of the sample in combined income. Both worked together in the service industry for a total of \$3,200 out of which they supported one child.

If you exclude the group—roughly 16 per cent, largely made up of widows, divorced and separated women—who had no source of income other than their own earnings, just 30 per cent said their husbands' incomes were inadequate. But even these women were likely to make it clear that the situation was beyond the husband's control.

A woman's attitude to the adequacy or otherwise of her husband's income appeared to be related to his income level. Of those with husbands earning \$3,000 or over, 80 per cent made no mention of inadequacy of income as a reason for the wife working. All whose husbands received \$5,000 or more apparently considered these incomes sufficient to permit them to remain at home if they so desired.

The enumerator reported that one woman with such a high-income husband said "she feels there is a different attitude when people know you do not work out of necessity."

Table 22 shows that a very small proportion—just 4 per cent—with husbands in the \$4,000 to \$4,999 group felt that this was not enough. In the \$3,000 to \$3,999 range, inadequacy of income was mentioned by one in five. When the man fell into the \$1,000 to \$1,999 category, roughly half of the wives considered this was sufficient. On the whole the "under \$1,000" group did not complain of inadequacy perhaps because this was for many a temporary condition and well

understood. In some cases it was part of a long-term plan to enable the husband to acquire professional education or to become established in a business.

Table 22

**MWW: Percentage Who Considered Husband's Income Inadequate,
by Husband's Income**

<i>Husband's Income</i>	<i>Percentage Inadequate Considering Income</i>	<i>Total Weighted</i>
\$		
Under 1,000	6.5	(67)
1,000-1,999	58.7	(266)
2,000-2,999	46.6	(608)
3,000-3,999	21.0	(371)
4,000-4,999	4.0	(25)
5,000 plus .....	.....	.....
All Incomes	24.9	(1,485)*

* Includes 148 with husband's income unknown or not applicable.

Although not more than one woman in three mentioned that her husband's income was inadequate, many of those interviewed remarked that the family could use the money they earned. Attempts to improve one's lot are not necessarily tied in with a feeling of deprivation.

For instance a young woman in this Survey whose husband's income was \$3,700 was herself earning \$3,200 as a school teacher. The enumerator said of her: "This person seemed to have a clear grasp of the idea that she was working to purchase a car and furnish a house." Although they did not feel deprived she said her husband considered it "an economic necessity" for her to work.

The extreme importance of the economic motive in keeping these married women at work outside the home is one of the most outstanding findings of this Survey. Studies of married women working in Great Britain and the United States show the same general situation. The overwhelming reason why married women—especially those with children—work outside the home is to raise the family standard of living. In a few cases the woman's contribution makes a great difference, almost doubling the family income, but in a great many families her earnings provide a few "extras" they would otherwise do without.

An attempt was made to tabulate the disposition of the woman's earnings, but this proved to be difficult because in so many cases they are thoroughly entwined with the earnings of her husband. It is safe to say, though, that whether or not her money was earmarked for

specific purposes, it generally went into the family living expenses in one way or another. Only about 7 per cent of the women said they were saving money, and very few were paying off debts.

It is interesting that about one-third of the families reached in this Survey owned or were buying houses, and about 60 per cent were in rented accommodation. The proportion of "homes owned" was considerably lower than for all dwellings in the eight sample cities according to the 1951 Census (43%). Since home ownership does tend to be positively associated with income, it may well be that the desire to own a home is one of the important factors in keeping married women at work outside the home. Of all the women in the sample, one in four spoke of working to pay for her home. This was more than twice the number who mentioned all other specific material objectives together.

The very small number who spoke of paying for cars, furniture or TV sets may be due to the fact that many had already acquired these things.

As to who were the beneficiaries of the women's earnings there was no doubt. In nearly every case the money went for the benefit of the woman herself or her immediate family. For example, in many families it was used for purchase of better clothing for the children and the mother. Less than 1 per cent said they were paying for support of parents or other relatives.

It has been shown in Chapter IV that the economic situation of the families in this sample is such that most of them can readily use some extra money. Many are saved by the wife working from having to consider carefully the spending of every penny. Others feel that the wife is working now to build a better future.

Summary

Like other working people, most of these married women were working because they felt the family needed the money. Although their main reason for working is economic, they do not generally consider that they must work to keep the family from want, although many widows, divorced and separated women, as well as a few with husbands who are incapacitated or in extremely low income groups, are in that position. It is rather that the women are, on the whole, working to raise the family standard of living.

It is true that many also had other reasons for working, such as to fill in their time, interest in the job, or need for self expression. However, the number who had what could be called a career interest was not more than one in four. Roughly one quarter felt they did not have enough to do at home, but by far the largest group—47 per cent—spoke of no other reason for working than the economic one. Three out of four stressed economic motives above all others.

VI

How Do Things Work Out at Home?

There is no doubt that most married women in full-time jobs work extremely long hours. They have usually done some chores at home before they leave for work in the morning, and after a regular working day they take up their household duties again. Weekends are particularly busy for them.

When a woman is working at a full-time job it would seem to be physically impossible for her to fulfill all her usual obligations at home.

A barrister's secretary met in the Survey who has no children, works 15 hours a week, from 1.30 to 4.30 Monday to Friday because she says "you can't run the two jobs efficiently otherwise."

The Survey replies indicate that although she generally carries the main responsibility for the household, the married working woman does try to "cut corners" somewhat, and that she is likely, especially when she has children, to call on other members of her family for assistance as well as on neighbours and friends.

One woman remarked that: "Housekeeping has become the main activity for all the members of the family." Another said that now "running the household is a family affair."

Except for a considerable number who sent some of the laundry out, little use was made of paid services.

Any discussion of the problems of married working women generally conjures up the picture of a working mother, and the stereotype is the mother of small children. Fears are frequently expressed that children are being left unattended or with inadequate supervision while their mothers go to work. There was very little evidence of this in the Survey. Particularly in the case of the young children, the mothers were practically unanimous in assuring the interviewer that they were adequately looked after.

Even in this Survey, which was confined to women who were themselves married and working, the question concerning the "chief

difficulties faced by other married women who are working for pay” was likely to bring an answer that concerned arrangements for care of children.

A mother of three whose husband earned \$3,000 had satisfactory arrangements for her own children, but other mothers, she felt, were involved in “struggles between desire to work in order to improve the financial situation of the family and the difficulties of arranging care for children.”

The problem of looking after a household in addition to carrying a full-time job did not receive nearly as much attention, although of course many women spoke of that too.

The findings of this Survey do not support the notion that the typical married working woman is a mother with children who are being neglected. In fact it was found that 44 per cent of the married working women had no dependent children. (See Table 23.) If the widows, divorced and separated women who were in the Survey only if they had children are excluded, it is revealed that nearly half of the working couples were without dependent children. A much more realistic picture of the married working woman would appear to be the woman without dependent children who, if she is working, is more likely than the mother to be a full-time worker, and much more likely to spend the greater part of her adult life as a working woman.

Table 23

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Number of Dependent Children

<i>Number of Dependent Children</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
0	44.1
1	28.8
2	19.7
3	5.4
4	1.4
5	0.5
6 plus	0.1
Total	100.0

Of the women under 25 as well as those 55 or over, more than 60 per cent were without dependent children. The proportion with dependent children was highest (68 per cent) in the age group 35 to 44.

Naturally, when there are children in the home the household arrangements are likely, at least to some extent, to revolve around them; these situations will be considered separately later on. But looking first at the whole sample of married working women, it is striking that 80 per cent of their families consisted of just the two generations: father and mother with their own children, if any. When there was a relative present there was usually just one—probably a grandmother. (See Table 24.)

One daughter-in-law said of the grandmother's role in looking after the children: "She is pleased because it gives her an important place in the family group."

A mother of a three-year old who was at home with his grandmother while the mother worked as a sales clerk said: "There is no need for two women to stay at home, one should go out and work."

Some idea of the importance of "other relatives" in making it possible for mothers to work outside can be gathered from the fact that of all families with just one "other relative" present, 70 per cent had dependent children. Looking at it in another way, of families with dependent children, 24 per cent reported "other relatives" in the home. In the case of families with pre-schoolers, an even higher proportion—28 per cent—had "other relatives" present. Couples with no dependent children were much more likely to have no "other relatives" living with them.

Although the small two-generation family pattern was found in the great majority of homes where there was a husband present, the working mother who was herself head of her family was more likely to be living in a wider family group. Nearly half of the divorced women shared a household with one or more relatives other than their own children. A high proportion of separated women and widows too, were in households of this kind.

Divorced women were by far the most likely to have two or more "other relatives" in the household, perhaps because a considerable number of divorced women return to the parental home. A high proportion of widows reported just one extra relative in the household. The higher age of the widows would make it less likely that both their parents would be living.

Table 24

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Number of "Other Relatives" in Household, by Marital Status

<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Number of "Other Relatives" in Household</i>							<i>Total</i>	<i>Weighted Total</i>
	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6+</i>		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Married	82.1	9.7	4.4	2.2	0.9	0.5	0.2	100.0	(5,246)
Widowed	67.7	30.8	....	....	1.5	....	....	100.0	(325)
Divorced	53.4	4.3	29.3	12.9	....	....	....	99.9	(116)
Separated	62.1	20.0	1.1	2.5	3.6	10.7	....	100.0	(280)
All MWW	79.9	11.3	4.5	2.3	1.0	0.9	0.2	100.1	(5,967)

Home responsibilities were usually looked after in the evening hours and on weekends. Where there were no children to consider, roughly two out of three of the women worked substantially the same hours at their husbands and many couples did the housework together after working hours. But in families with children women tried to arrange their own hours of work to fit in with their husbands' hours so that one parent or the other would always be at home. This was stated in a great many replies, and it is demonstrated by the fact that in families with children, only 40 per cent of the mothers were employed for six hours or more in a day at the same time as their husbands were working.

The tendency of working mothers seemed to be to avoid as far as possible being away from the children when father was also absent. It was noticeable that in homes with children, mother or father were more likely to work part time or on shifts than when there were no children in the home.

A mother of two (aged 6 and 5) said she tried a day nursery for her children "but they cried every morning. So she preferred to stay at home until her husband got a night job and started to take care of the children during the day."

The enumerator observed of a woman with two children, 5 and 7: "In spite of economic privation, this woman has refused to delegate to others the job of caring for her young children, and has taken only such part-time work as she could perform at hours when her husband was able to look after the children."

In addition to asking the women in the sample about the arrangements in their households, questions were put to them designed to bring

out not only their own feelings about their jobs, but their attitudes towards the general situation created by married women working outside the home.

Since these women were themselves working, they were naturally favourably disposed, on the whole, towards the idea of married women taking outside jobs. It was noticeable, though, that those who were the main breadwinners for their families were prone to say that women who had husbands should stay home, perhaps adding that they themselves would do so if they could.

The answer to the general question about "the chief difficulties faced by other married women who are working for pay" usually brought a response, but when the question was related to the woman's own situation she was likely to minimize the difficulties, often saying that in her own case there were none. A common expression of women without children was: "Where there are no children there is no problem."

The interviewer's remarks about a mother of two whose husband earned \$4,600, she \$2,600, would apply to a good many of the respondents. "She seemed to feel that if she said she had any problems or there were any disadvantages to her working, this would mean either:

- a) that she had to work, and she obviously didn't want me to think this was true, or
- b) that she should not be working but should be staying home looking after her family."

Although, as has been shown, the great majority of the women in the sample held full-time jobs as well as carrying responsibilities—often heavy ones—at home, few complained about their working hours. Many made a general observation about feeling "rushed all the time", "never catching up", or "always being tired". But when the specific question arose as to what they liked or disliked about their hours of work, more than 60 per cent stated positively that they liked them, only 13 per cent expressed dislike of their hours, and about 24 per cent would give no opinion.

The difference in this respect between working women without dependent children and working mothers was not great, although the tendency for mothers to find their hours irksome was just a little greater (See Table 25). That was true for both full-time and part-time workers. In the case of both mothers and women without dependent children more than 80 per cent of those working part time were satisfied with their hours. Of women working full time 56 per cent of those with children said they liked their hours; 64 per cent of the women who had no children were satisfied with their hours.

Table 25

**MWW: Percentage Distribution of Women With and Without Dependent Children,
by Opinion of Hours of Work**

<i>Opinion of Hours</i>	<i>Have Dependent Children</i>	<i>Have No Dependent Children</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Like hours	61.4	65.6
Dislike hours	13.2	11.6
No opinion	25.4	22.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,338)	(2,629)

Table 26 shows that there were more mothers in the sample with elementary school children than with pre-schoolers.

Table 26

**MWW: Percentage With Pre-School, Elementary School, High School and
Other Dependent Children**

<i>Have Dependent Children</i>	<i>Per cent*</i>
Pre-school	21.8
Elementary school	31.5
High school	11.0
Other	6.2

* Since some mothers have children in more than one category, these percentages add to more than total percentage with dependent children.

In all the eight cities in the Survey, mothers of elementary school children were the largest group, with mothers of pre-schoolers next.

Although homes with elementary school children were more common than those with pre-schoolers, and less than a third of the mothers had children under school age, it was the arrangement for the pre-school group that concerned the mothers most. Once these were settled the mothers did not feel as uneasy about the older children. Naturally, very young children require more constant physical care, and there is also the factor that some provision must be made for them all day long, whereas in the case of school-age children it is mainly a question of bridging the gap between the end of the school day and mother's return from work.

As for children who have reached high school age, their mothers generally seemed to feel that they required no supervision. In fact they were often a help to the mother in looking after their younger brothers and sisters as well as in doing household chores.

Nine out of ten mothers of pre-schoolers in the sample were not themselves family heads, but of the mothers of elementary school children one in five was widowed, separated or divorced (See Table 27).

Table 27

MWW: Percentage Distribution of Mothers of Pre-School Children and of Elementary School Children by Marital Status

<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Have Pre-School Children</i>	<i>Have Elementary School Children</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Married	90.9	78.5
Widowed, divorced, separated	9.1	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(1,304)	(1,879)

As shown in Table 28, about 46 per cent of the mothers with pre-school children had no other dependent children. Many of these very young "only children" had young parents who were still living under the same roof as the grandparents.

Table 28

MWW: Percentage Distribution of Mothers of Pre-School Children by Total Number of Dependent Children

<i>Total Number of Dependent Children</i>	<i>Have Pre-School Children</i>
	<i>%</i>
1	45.8
2	35.3
3	14.1
4	3.8
5	0.4
6 plus	0.6
Total	100.0
Weighted Total	(1,304)

Although the attitudes of the women interviewed were generally favourable to married women working, opinions were clearly divided when it came to the question of whether or not mothers should work. A woman's opinion on that subject seemed to depend a good deal on her own situation.

A widespread view among those who had no children themselves was that a mother's place is at home with her children. Many went further, adding that if they themselves had children, they would stay home. There is evidence that at least in the province of Quebec many did actually stop working outside when the children came. Several in the sample with small babies had given up their jobs for that reason. Also, the high proportion of women, especially in Quebec City, who were the main breadwinners, probably is associated with the withdrawal of those with a husband when children arrived.

The attitude towards a mother working was, naturally, different in the case of women who were themselves mothers. Then a woman's views appeared to depend on whether or not her children were of school age. If they were—and this was the largest group—she was likely to say that mothers of pre-schoolers should stay home with their children, but that once the children were of school age the mother could safely go to work.

Working mothers of pre-school children too, rationalized their own position in one way or another. Some said it made the children more independent; others that grandmother looked after them better than the mother could do herself.

One young woman whose 19 months' old baby was in the grandmother's care said, "I'd rather work when she's small. It doesn't seem to make so much difference to her."

It is probably true in Canada as elsewhere that mothers of very young children are much less likely to work outside than other married women. Those who do continue to hold jobs appear to feel that there is real need for their financial contribution to the home. That being the case, they may be threatened by any suggestion that their children are not well looked after.

A young woman with three children all under four years of age was earning \$1,800 as a waitress to supplement her husband's income of \$2,400. By dove-tailing their hours of work they were able to look after the children themselves with no outside help. She had formerly paid a woman \$12.00 a week to look after them, but could not afford that. She "wishes there were a nursery child care centre which would care for children free or for very little fee." She said \$10.00 a week is too much—it is all she makes. She said they can "keep their heads above water" if she works too. The

enumerator observed that this young woman "feels run down—but won't go to a Doctor because she knows he will tell her to slow down and take it easy and she doesn't feel they can afford to have her quit her job . . ."

It is not possible to say from the information now available what provision was being made for care of all the children of the married working mothers in the sample. However, examination of the schedules and special tabulations for a few centres make it clear that the great majority of the mothers expressed complete satisfaction with their present arrangements.

It may be that mothers do not go to work until they have made what they consider suitable plans for their children. Another probable explanation is that mothers who have decided to go to work have already convinced themselves that the decision is not made at the expense of the children. Since they must be aware of the widespread feeling among those not faced with the decision that mothers should stay at home, they would naturally defend the course they have taken.

A school teacher who had no children herself and whose husband was also a teacher, said she thought "working mothers tend to neglect children as a group."

Another childless woman who had worked for years in a Juvenile Court said, "I don't think women who have children should work. I think childhood is so important. I've seen so much in Court."

Perhaps it is significant that mothers who expressed dissatisfaction with their child care arrangements were likely to be heads of families for whom it was usually obvious that there was no alternative but to work.

For instance, a divorced woman, mother of three, said, "Every woman who has three children should be at home all the time for her children's sake. I think my kids have lost something this way."

One of the few married women in the sample who expressed real concern about the care for a school-age child was a woman who had recently quit work on the death of her mother to stay home with the child. She said she "feels it is bad for a child, particularly a girl, to be running unsupervised."

A widowed mother of two teen-aged boys "worries about the children. She feels at their age they need to be controlled—supervised at night. As she is going to work at night she cannot supervise them."

The opinion that there is need for more day nurseries or similar child care facilities for working mothers was widely held, but mainly by women who did not have young children themselves. When those who had young children expressed similar views they often qualified their statements by saying that they would not use them for their own children. The main objection seemed to be the difficulty of transporting

the children to and fro. Also, a considerable number of women said they thought it was too hard on young children to spend the whole day away from home. There is no doubt that mothers favoured, if at all possible, some arrangement that would not require removal of the child from the home.

One mother of three whose children were looked after at home said she had observed the difficulties working mothers have in getting their children to day care centres. "The weather may be inclement, the public transportation crowded, making this a real problem."

As a check on the general impression that little use was being made by the women in the sample of organized child care facilities, the information for some of the larger centres was examined in detail. In one Eastern city for instance, the mothers of children six years of age or under made the following arrangements for the care of their children:

<i>Care of Pre-School Children in One Eastern City</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Grandparent (usually grandmother) in the home	30.0
Husband or wife home at all times	12.5
Mother stopped work	10.0
Arrangements with neighbours	7.5
Nursery or kindergarten	7.5
Private school or boarding home	7.5
Private arrangement	5.0
Full-time maid	5.0
Wife's sister home	2.5
Older children look after younger	2.5
Child taken to work with mother	2.5
No arrangement or unknown	7.5
Total	100.0
Weighted Total	(400)

It is safe to say that in that city not more than 10 per cent of the mothers of pre-schoolers used organized facilities such as nurseries, kindergartens or other schools. Seventy per cent of the mothers did not pay for care of these small children, although many undertook reciprocal obligations of one kind or another.

A considerable number of "only" children were placed in boarding schools or boarding homes. This was more common when there was no father in the home, but there were also some cases of this kind where both parents were working. The very important role assumed by the grandmother in homes where the mother works, stands out also in another large city. There, more than a third of the working mothers with dependent children left grandmother in charge. In many cases grandmother took over as head of the household.

Summary

The married working women in this sample are busy indeed. Although it has been shown in Chapter V that most of them do not feel they must work to support the family, the opinion was widespread that the family's lot was greatly improved when the mother worked outside. Having made the decision to work, the women do their best to see that home and family life are not sacrificed. There is no doubt that for the married woman her home is the central area of her life, and she plans her activities in what she believes to be the best interest of her family.

Although it is true that married working women play two roles, it is physically impossible for women to do two full-time jobs over any long period. Since the majority in the sample are employed full time outside—and many have been so employed for years—the reduction of work for them must be in their home duties.

In the case of the working wives interviewed, there was considerable curtailment of what would ordinarily be regarded as necessary household routine. The women of the house continued to carry the overall responsibility, but husbands and older children helped a good deal. Except for sending some laundry out, little use was made of paid services. Grandmothers played an important role, especially in looking after the children. They seemed to concentrate on caring for the children while the mother looked after the general household work. Neighbours too, were often helpful in keeping an eye on children after school.

Some women said they were glad to escape from housework. But there were a few who earned money by doing housework for others.

A mother of two small children whose husband's income was less than \$3,000, went out cleaning by the day. The interviewer remarked that, "Although woman likes to work she dislikes housework. Finds it very hard."

The women interviewed were reluctant to say that their own lot was a hard one, but perhaps their own difficulties were mirrored in their readiness to see hardship in the lives of other married women who were working. Those without children—more than 40 per cent of the sample—usually said they had no particular difficulties. There was a natural tendency for mothers to be protective in replying to questions about the care of their children. This may explain why there was little demand expressed by mothers of small children for facilities for their care. Many of these mothers would clearly welcome some place where school-age children could go after school to spend the time until mother returns from work.

When a woman is working at a full-time job it is, of course, impossible for her to perform all her usual duties at home. Although there was a general impression that the married working women in the sample had a feeling of continual rush and a longing for more time and energy to spend with their families, the Survey does not show that the homes necessarily suffer when the wife works outside. It should be kept in mind, however, that this information is based on interviews with married women who are working. The great majority of married women, those not working outside, many of whom have had work experience, could very well have a different story to tell.

VII

How Do the Immigrants Fare?

As shown in Table 29, about one-third of the women workers in the sample were born outside Canada.

The percentage born outside Canada was considerably greater than in the Canadian female working population as a whole as shown by the 1951 Census. Some of the difference is explained by the high level of immigration in the last few years and the fact that a high proportion of recent immigrants have been of working age. Also, those coming to Canada since World War II have settled mainly in the larger cities and they are heavily concentrated in the central areas from which the sample was drawn.

Table 29

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Country of Birth

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Weighted Total</i>
Canada	65.9	(3,932)
Eastern Europe and Mediterranean*	15.8	(941)
British Isles	9.2	(552)
Western Europe*	6.4	(384)
USA	1.2	(72)
Other	1.4	(86)
Total	99.9	(5,967)

*Eastern Europe includes Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Latvia, Esthonia, Russia. Western Europe includes France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Scandinavia. Mediterranean includes Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece.

The largest single group in the sample came from Eastern Europe. Comparisons with other sources of information make it appear that the Eastern European born are over-represented here in relation to Western European and British born women. It may be that wives of recent immigrants from Eastern Europe are more likely than other immigrant wives to work outside the home.

Of the women in the sample born outside Canada, roughly half had come to this country since 1950 (See Table 30). About two-thirds of those born in the British Isles or in the United States had been here since 1950 or longer, but the European born were more heavily represented among the more recent arrivals. Of the Western European born, three-quarters had arrived in Canada in 1951 or subsequent years. Immigrants who came after the mid-century were living mainly in Toronto and Montreal, the next largest groups being in Vancouver and Winnipeg.

Table 30

MWW: Percentage Distribution of Women Born Outside Canada by Year of Entry

<i>Year of Entry</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Before 1946	30.1
1946-1950	20.4
1951 to present	49.3
Unknown	0.2
Total	100.0
Weighted Total	(2,035)

Mothers in the sample who were born outside Canada were inclined to have smaller families than Canadian born women reached in the Survey. (Of course this is not to suggest that families are smaller in their countries of origin than in Canada.) About two-thirds of all the mothers were born in Canada, but of families with three or more children more than 80 per cent had a Canadian born mother. Canadian born women make up over 90 per cent of those with four children or more.

The types of jobs held by foreign born women in the sample are somewhat different from those held by native born Canadians. Europeans were more likely than Canadian born women to be found in factory jobs or service occupations. (See Table 31.) These are the kinds of work that do not generally call for much training. They are also apt to involve long or irregular hours.

Naturally, language is often a barrier to certain kinds of positions. A much higher proportion of those whose native tongue is English—whether or not they were Canadian born—were in clerical work. The high proportion of foreign born women in the service and manufacturing

occupations reflects the situation of all female immigrants of the post-war period. According to the 1951 Census nearly one-third of them were in service occupations, compared with one-fifth of the total female labour force. Almost a quarter were in factory jobs, compared with only 15 per cent of all women workers.

Table 31

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Occupation, by Country of Birth*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>				
	<i>Canada</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Western Europe†</i>	<i>Eastern Europe and Mediterranean†</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Managerial and professional	10.8	6.9	22.2	7.8	1.9
Clerical	42.0	42.4	43.1	25.0	18.9
Transportation and communication	2.2	3.6	.....	2.6	.....
Commerce and finance	13.2	10.5	6.9	6.5	8.2
Service	12.9	19.6	20.8	28.1	28.2
Manufacturing and mechanical	18.5	17.0	.....	30.0	42.3
Construction, labourers and not stated	0.3	.....	6.9	.....	0.5
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(384)	(941)

* 86 were born in "other" countries.

† See footnote to Table 29.

The types of work that engaged these women were not determined entirely by their foreign origin. It has been shown that recent arrivals in the sample are heavily concentrated in Toronto and Montreal, cities where many work in factories, and in Vancouver and Winnipeg where the service occupation is a big employer.

Also, as Table 32 shows, women in the sample born outside Canada were, on the whole, older than the Canadian born, and older women are generally found in large numbers in unskilled jobs. Of those born in Canada or the United States only about 16 or 17 per cent were 45 years old or more. The British and European immigrant groups included a higher proportion 45 or over.

Table 32

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Age Group, by Country of Birth*

Age Group	Country of Birth				
	Canada	British Isles	USA	Western Europe†	Eastern Europe and Mediterranean†
	%	%	%	%	%
Under 25	19.7	9.1	15.3	18.0	5.8
25-34	34.4	31.2	34.7	32.6	35.0
35-44	29.4	25.5	33.3	22.7	36.7
45+	16.5	34.2	16.7	26.8	22.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(384)	(941)

* 86 were born in "other" countries.

† See footnote to Table 29.

British women over 45 were more likely than the younger ones to be found in service jobs. Young British women were well represented in clerical occupations; of the British born who were under 25 years of age more than three-quarters were clerical workers. That was a higher proportion than of the native born Canadians, roughly half of whom were office workers if they were under 25.

It was noticeable that European women in service occupations were more widely scattered through the age groups, with a considerable proportion of young women doing this work. It may be that some spend their early years in the new land in domestic and related occupations because of language difficulties, thus adding to the proportion in the younger age groups.

Factory work employed a high proportion of the older workers, particularly of the European born.

British and Eastern European immigrants were more likely than others to say they planned to continue to work until they retired. (See Table 33.) Perhaps their higher age level explains this to some extent. However, the Western Europeans too are somewhat older than the Canadian born, yet they were much like Canadians in the proportion planning to retire soon.

Table 33

**MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long Intend to Work,
by Country of Birth***

<i>How Long Intend to Work</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>				
	<i>Canada</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Western Europe†</i>	<i>Eastern Europe and Mediterranean†</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Indefinitely or until re- tirement	45.0	65.2	52.8	43.5	59.3
Until date in near future	45.7	33.0	41.7	48.7	32.3
Unknown	9.3	1.8	5.6	7.8	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(384)	(941)

* 86 were born in "other" countries.

† See footnote to Table 29.

Table 34 shows that both British and foreign immigrant women were somewhat more likely than native Canadians to say they would look for other work if they lost their jobs. This reflects to some extent the youth of the Canadian born women, because it has been shown that the younger women are less likely to think of themselves as permanent workers. It may also indicate that the need for the wife as well as the husband to work is more pressing while families are establishing themselves in a new land.

The interviewer said of a woman who came from Czechoslovakia in 1948: "When she and her husband first came to Canada, they could provide the bare necessities only by both working. Now her husband's income is somewhat more adequate." Medical expenses have made her keep on working. She will stop work as soon as she can possibly afford to do so. "Both husband and wife are unskilled, and came to Canada unfamiliar with the language, which no doubt have been factors in the long, hard, low-paid work they have had to do."

Table 34**MWW: Percentage Distribution by What Do if Job Lost, by Country of Birth***

<i>What Do if Job Lost</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>				
	<i>Canada</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Western Europe†</i>	<i>Eastern Europe and Mediterranean†</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Look for work	68.0	86.8	81.9	81.0	86.1
Leave labour force	25.7	9.6	12.5	13.0	8.9
Unknown	6.3	3.6	5.6	6.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(384)	(941)

* 86 were born in "other" countries.

† See footnote to Table 29.

It can be seen from Table 35 that immigrant women who entered Canada before 1951 and especially the ones who came before 1946, were more likely than the Canadian born to have a record of continuous employment. The less continuous employment record of the most recent immigrants would be due in part to the inclusion of those who have hardly had time to settle in a job.

Table 35**MWW: Percentage Distribution by How Long in Labour Force, by Year of Entry**

<i>How Long in Labour Force</i>	<i>Immigrants by Year of Entry</i>				
	<i>Canadian Born</i>	<i>Before 1946</i>	<i>1946-50</i>	<i>1951 to present</i>	<i>All MWW</i>
	%	%	%	%	%
Continuously last 5 years or since entry and at least 1 year	57.2	80.2	62.9	52.0	59.1
Not continuously last 5 years	41.0	18.1	37.1	47.5	39.4
Less than 1 year	1.6	1.6	.....	0.5	1.3
Unknown	0.3	.....	.....	.....	0.2
Total	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(612)	(415)	(1,003)	(5,967)*

* Includes 5 with year of entry unknown.

Among some groups of immigrant wives, particularly those from Eastern Europe, the economic motive was more commonly stressed than in others. Ninety per cent of the Eastern Europeans put it above all other reasons for working. For these women the incentive to stay on the job would be strong.

There was some evidence that women in the sample who were born outside Canada were more likely than the Canadian born to be working long hours. Table 36 shows that one in four of the Western Europeans worked at least 45 hours a week. Only 12 per cent of the Canadian born were on the job for such long hours. The large number of Western Europeans in the service occupations helps to account for this.

Table 36

MWW: Percentage Distribution by Hours of Work Per Week, by Country of Birth

<i>Hours Per Week</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>					<i>All MWW</i>
	<i>Canada</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Western Europe†</i>	<i>Eastern Europe and Mediterranean†</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 25	8.4	10.7	13.9	6.0	8.0	8.4
25-34	4.4	10.9	.....	7.3	8.7	5.9
35-44	70.4	65.9	73.6	58.6	67.0	69.0
45 plus	11.6	10.7	12.5	28.1	12.6	12.6
Unknown	5.2	1.8	.....	.....	3.7	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(384)	(941)	(5,967)*

* 86 were born in "other" countries.

† See footnote to Table 29.

Their longer hours may explain why the largest number of each foreign born group fell in the same income class as women born in Canada, i.e. they earned between \$1,000 and \$1,999. However, (see Table 37), in spite of their longer hours, women born outside Canada in countries other than the British Isles or the United States were more likely to be earning under \$2,000.

This is, of course, related to the fact that, as has been shown, immigrants from non-English-speaking countries were more likely to be doing work that requires little skill or training.

*Table 37***MWW: Percentage Distribution by Income Class, by Country of Birth**

<i>Income Class</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>				<i>All MWW</i>
	<i>Canada</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Other</i>	
\$	%	%	%	%	%
Under 2,000	55.0	57.6	55.6	71.1	59.0
2,000-3,999	38.7	35.9	33.3	24.3	35.0
4,000 plus	1.3	3.3	.....	1.4	1.5
Unknown	4.9	3.3	11.1	3.2	4.4
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9
Weighted Total	(3,932)	(552)	(72)	(1,411)	(5,967)

There is no clear evidence that the husbands of the foreign born women in the sample—generally foreign born themselves—were more or less likely to be in the lowest income groups. Roughly a quarter of them, and also of the husbands of the Canadian born women earned less than \$2,000; approximately one in five received between \$2,000 and \$2,999. But women born in the United States were much more apt than the average woman in the sample to have husbands earning upwards of \$3,000; women born in non-English-speaking countries were somewhat less likely to have husbands earning \$3,000 or more.

The combined incomes of husbands and wives were roughly similar regardless of whether or not the woman was born in Canada.

Summary

A high proportion of the women in the sample—about one in three—were born outside Canada. Roughly half of the immigrants had come to this country since 1950. The largest group was from the continent of Europe. British and American born women, who would have no new language to learn and who would probably assimilate rapidly, made up a third of the immigrant group. By and large the families of the foreign born women were smaller than those of native born Canadians.

Those born outside Canada, particularly women who would be likely to have a language handicap, appeared to fare less well in the labour market than native Canadians. They were apt to be working

longer hours; also earning less money than the Canadian born. However, the difference in income was not great, perhaps because longer hours would tend to make up for lower rates of pay. On the whole, immigrant women in the sample were older than native born Canadians, and since older women are often found in lower-paid jobs, this would tend to depress their earnings.

The immigrants, to an even greater extent than other married women, seemed to be working primarily because they felt they needed the money. Anxiety to help their husbands to get established in a new land may have made them feel more firmly attached to the labour force than was generally the case for these married working women. It must be remembered that the sample is of a group who are working. There is no evidence from this Survey that the foreign born married women are necessarily more likely to be working than those born in Canada. However, most of the immigrants were married to foreign born men whose ordinary earning power would probably be reduced somewhat for the first few years in Canada. This would be a further incentive for the wives to help out with the family budget. There was no conclusive evidence though to show that the earnings of husbands of foreign born women were lower than those of other husbands in the sample.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is appropriate to emphasize again that generalizations concerning the population in the sample can neither be extended to all married women who are working nor to all Canadian women. They are limited to what would be at best a cross-section of married women working at a particular time in eight Canadian cities. Since for various reasons it was not possible to carry out the sampling plan precisely as laid down, the sample finally used, although reconstructed as far as possible to conform with the original scheme, may very well overstate or understate the situation in some respects. Where comparisons with other sources of information showed that this was likely, the results were not used without warning.

It should also be mentioned that care must be taken to avoid making sweeping conclusions on the basis of interviews confined, as these were, to the individuals personally involved in the subject being investigated. Much of the information given by the respondents is of a purely factual nature, and there is no reason to believe that there would be intentional misrepresentation. However, some of the questions were of the "attitude" type, and personal opinion is likely to depend a good deal on the individual's own situation.

Married women who work outside the home are aware that they are a minority group who do not have unqualified social approval, and they are likely to feel protective of their own situation when answering questions relating to their circumstances as working women.

In a labour market where jobs are relatively plentiful the suggestion is seldom heard that the married woman, typically the second wage-earner in the family, should give up her job to make room for someone who depends entirely on his work for a living. For several years now, the demand for workers has been high. When there is a wide range of jobs to be filled, employers are more willing to hire women in some of those that may have been filled by men when the employment situation was tighter. This is particularly true of some white-collar occupations in which women have made great inroads in recent years. In a period of full employment women were welcomed also to work side by side with men on the assembly line. Whether or not public attitudes to married women working would be different if the

economy should become less buoyant is hard to predict. Should competition for jobs become keen, opposition to married women working could very well grow.

Acceptance of the married woman in the working world has been furthered by public awareness that in these days of high prices, families with low-income heads are hard pressed to make ends meet. This becomes an important factor when families are setting up households while man and wife are still very young, as is common nowadays. Today many girls marry with the expectation of continuing to work.

It is when children arrive that the question is likely to arise whether or not their mother should give up her job. The popular prejudice against married women working has lessened considerably in recent years, but there is no doubt that public opinion continues to hold that if a woman has children she should stay home with them unless necessity drives her to work. Even in this Survey, restricted as it was to married women who were themselves working, those who were without dependent children usually expressed the traditional attitude that mothers should stay home. Many added that if they themselves had children they would not work.

Typical of many wives met in the Survey was a young woman with no children who said she "would definitely not work if she had a family." The enumerator added, "she doesn't think married women with children should work, hard for them and children."

Women in the Survey who were the sole support of their families were prone to take that view. A widow with a 14 year old boy said, "a married woman with children shouldn't work. She should stay home and look after her children. When the woman is forced to work it is too bad."

It is known that many women do actually drop out when their children are born, but that is not true of all. Naturally, the women in the sample who had children looked on the subject of working mothers in a different light than did the others. These women had already made the decision to work, and they were ready to justify their own position. Not only did they generally say that the children did not suffer when their mothers took paid employment; many cited gains to the children. It is true that most of the gains enumerated were material ones, but a considerable number mentioned that when the mother went to work the children became more independent. This may not be entirely rationalization.

Although there was decided reluctance among the married working women interviewed in this Survey to speak of their own difficulties, they were much more ready to talk about the troubles of other married

women who were working. It is likely that their own problems are reflected to some extent in those they attributed to others. Although there are many outstanding exceptions, there is no doubt that in Canada as in other countries there are problems associated with the gainful employment of married women, particularly mothers.

Judging by the opinions of the women interviewed in this Survey it is they themselves who bear the main brunt of it when they work outside the home. The great majority continue to carry the overall responsibility for the household, and although much of the housework is done on the weekends, household duties, including shopping as well as cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning and mending, may take up as many hours per week as a full-time outside job demands. The well known fact that housework is a very time-consuming job makes it difficult to recruit household workers when other kinds of employment with more restricted hours are available.

When a woman is looking after her home in addition to working outside, she naturally eliminates all but the most essential home duties. Then she seeks what help she can get from her husband and other family members, perhaps also from friends and neighbours. Nevertheless, if housework time is added to the hours worked outside, it is clear that the married woman with a full-time job works a very long week.

Considering her total situation, the married working woman in this sample had a remarkably stable work record, and she seemed to feel very much attached to her job. There is no doubt though, that for the married woman her home and family are still her primary interest. For the great majority of married women in Canada home and family constitute a full-time job. This Survey shows that for the minority who are working outside their homes reasons for working are usually tied up with plans for improving the family's material position.

Although it has been shown that women in the sample are distributed in a somewhat different way among the occupational groups than Canadian working women as a whole, this is not due entirely to the fact that they are married women. It is safe to say though that except for a very few, there was little evidence of a career interest in the job.

The demands of home and family are, of course, related to the size and composition of the household, and particularly to the age of the children. With early marriages, the mother has often had her last child before she is thirty. More women are being freed to take employment once their children have passed the age when they require constant physical care.

In fact, the largest group of mothers in the sample are those with school-age children, not the mothers of pre-schoolers who represent the working mother in the public mind. Working mothers of pre-schoolers in this Survey generally seem to have solved their child-care problems to their own satisfaction before going to work. Most often the arrangement is with a relative or a neighbour and does not require removal of the child from his home. Any other plan does not appeal to mothers for their own children, although day nurseries were often suggested as a solution for care of children of other working mothers.

Working mothers have a widespread desire for shorter hours, particularly an earlier end to the working day, so that they can get home "to put the supper on." As to part-time jobs, the general reaction was that much as they would like to have more time for other things, they could not make enough money by working part time to make the effort worthwhile.

In families where the wife works, the husband usually takes on some of the household duties. Students of contemporary society have expressed concern about the effect on the status of the husband when he is no longer the sole income-earner for the family and he takes over some of the functions he formerly left to his wife. Although a few of the husbands in this Survey were reported to resent the wives going to work, a great many more were said to be grateful for their contribution to the family budget. Judging by the interviews with these wives there was little evidence of family discord resulting from the wife's decision to work; the impression was that it was generally a family decision.

As to the effect on the children, it has already been stated that about half of the families with husband and wife both working had no dependent children. Where there were young children the mothers seemed to be satisfied that they were receiving good physical care; usually it was in their own homes, often with the grandmother. Many mothers though, felt it was a loss both to the children and themselves to see so little of each other.

This Survey indicates that the big problem of the working mother is not so much provision for the youngest ones as what to do with school-age children after school. For the pre-schoolers firm arrangements for their care had usually been made with some person whom the mother considered responsible, but a number of school-age children were left to shift for themselves. Working mothers would clearly welcome more facilities where the older children could spend the time after school.

There was a high proportion of immigrants in the sample, roughly half of them having come to Canada since 1951. For these women who had not had time to establish roots in the new land, working conditions appeared to be more difficult than for others. Many were in service jobs where hours are generally long. This was not entirely due to their foreign origin. They were older than the Canadian born women, and older women are generally found in the less skilled occupations. They were also somewhat lower paid than the Canadian born women, but on the whole their husbands did not seem to be earning noticeably less than the husbands of other working women.

The Survey established that the overwhelming reason why these married women were working outside the home was the economic one. Naturally, a considerable proportion mentioned other satisfactions too, such as the enjoyment of contact with fellow workers. Some who originally went to work for economic reasons stayed on because they became accustomed to the added income and also, many learned to enjoy the life. A small proportion were the main bread-winners for the family, but the great majority were working not "to keep the wolf from the door" which their husbands were generally able to do themselves, but to raise the family standard of living. The additional income that these women brought in was practically all spent on the home and family, and even when it was small it was likely to buy otherwise unattainable "luxuries".

The results of this Survey leave no doubt that the growing tendency for women to continue to work outside the home after marriage or to take up paid work again when children have grown beyond the stage where they need constant care, does not mean that home and family are no longer their primary interest. The small minority of married women who are working outside the home in the Survey cities appear to be convinced that this arrangement is the best one for the welfare of their families. Naturally, opinions differ as to what income is required to maintain an adequate standard of living, but the great majority of the women interviewed felt that their families' economic position was such that unless they were prepared to forego all but necessities, they were obliged to work for pay.

APPENDIX

Methodological Note on the Survey of Married Women Working for Pay

The Survey of Married Women Working for Pay was initiated in 1955 and undertaken by the Women's Bureau and the Economics and Research Branch of the Department of Labour and the Schools of Social Work of Universities located in selected incorporated cities with technical advice and assistance related to the sampling design and enumeration procedures, provided by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The purpose of the Survey was to obtain information on the environment, attitudes, and problems, of married women who were in the labour force and who had certain family responsibilities.

Area of Study

The Survey was restricted to eight incorporated cities: Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Vancouver; and was designed to obtain through a sample of households within selected city blocks, data on married women who were working for pay. For this study the following definitions were adopted.

- (1) *Household*: Any person or group of persons occupying one dwelling is defined as a household. A household consists of a family group with or without servants, lodgers, etc. It also consists of a group of unrelated persons sharing a dwelling or even one person living alone.
- (2) *Dwelling*: A dwelling is a structurally separate set of living premises with a private entrance from outside the building or from a common hallway or stairway inside. The entrance must not be through the living quarters of another household.
- (3) *A Married Woman Working for Pay*: Married women who, since marriage, had been in the Canadian labour force for a minimum of three months within the 12 months preceding the interview, were included provided that:
 - (a) they were living with their husbands or,
 - (b) if widowed, divorced or separated, they had dependent children.

This restricted domain of study places important limitations on the results from the Survey. Some of these limitations have been discussed in the text of this report.

Sample Design

The design of the sample in each of the eight cities incorporated a method known as multi-stage probability sampling. The first stage was the selection of a number of sample blocks (where a sample block comprised a city block or a group of city blocks) while the second stage was the selection of households within the selected sample blocks. Within the selected sample households all married women who were working were enumerated. A listing of blocks, using design data for the Canadian Labour Force Survey, was established for each city. Each block contained a minimum of 45 dwellings. In this listing, or frame, a measure of the size of each block was given in terms of the number of groups of 15 dwellings, thus a block containing 62 dwellings would contain four groups. The group sizes of the blocks were cumulated and a systematic sample of groups was selected using the sampling ratios listed below. These ratios were determined on the basis of the number of married women in the labour force as reported in the Census of 1951, and on the resources that each University was able to devote to the Survey.

Sampling Ratios

<i>City</i>	<i>Sampling Ratio</i>
Halifax	1/26
Quebec City	1/10
Montreal	1/100
Toronto	1/100
Winnipeg	1/50
Saskatoon	1/38
Edmonton	1/50
Vancouver	1/50

The selected groups specified the sample blocks. Within a selected block the sample of households was obtained by sub-sampling within the block, using, as the sub-sampling ratio, the inverse of the number of groups within the block. Thus if a group within a block of size 5 was selected, the subsampling ratio used in selecting the sample households within the blocks would be 1/5. This method ensured that every household had the same chance of being selected. The following table illustrates the procedure with an overall sampling ratio of 1/10 and a random start of 2.

Procedure for Drawing a Hypothetical Sample

<i>Block Number</i>	<i>Number of Apparent Dwellings</i>	<i>Group Size</i>	<i>Cumulated Group Size</i>	<i>Selected</i>		<i>Sub-Sampling Ratio</i>
				<i>Group</i>	<i>Block</i>	
1	46	3	3	2	1	1/3
2	62	4	7	....	....	....
3	92	6	13	12	3	1/6
4	73	5	18	....	....	....
5	58	4	22	22	5	1/4
6	95	6	28	....	....	....
7	81	5	33	32	7	1/5

Enumeration Procedure

The number of addresses at which calls had to be made was necessarily larger than the number of completed interviews that would be obtained, as only a portion of these dwellings would house married women who were working. The procedure used, which is described below, was designed to reduce the administrative problems while still providing reliable estimates.

- (a) If there were married working women living in the dwelling and the required information could be obtained on the initial visit the schedules were completed. If only part of the information could be obtained a call-back to complete the interview was required. This included the case where a single schedule was not fully completed or where there were two or more married working women in the household and all the schedules were not completed.
- (b) If there were married working women living in the dwelling but, on the initial visit, the information could not be obtained for any of them the address of the dwelling was to be entered on a special list called the "Sub-Sampling List".
- (c) If there were no one home and no information as to whether or not there were married working women living in the dwelling, successive call-backs were required until a contact was made. Dwellings were then to be enumerated as in (a) or added to the "Sub-Sampling List" as in (b).
- (d) When all selected dwellings had been interviewed or contacted a sub-sample of addresses was to be selected systematically from the "Sub-Sampling List" and these addresses were visited.

Estimation Procedure

Under the sample design, described above, the plan was to tabulate the data in two stages.

- (1) The data obtained from first interviews would be tabulated under the desired classifications.
- (2) The data obtained from interviews of dwellings selected from the "Sub-Sampling List" would be tabulated separately under the same classifications used in (1). These data would then be weighted by the inverse of the sampling ratio used in selecting addresses from the "Sub-Sampling List" and these totals would be added to the corresponding totals in (1).

Estimates of the percentages of persons having particular attributes would then be determined from this balanced sample. Estimates for the complete domain of study required the addition of the weighted estimates from each city, where the weight for a city was the inverse of its sampling ratio, for example 26 for Halifax, 10 for Quebec City, etc. The method actually used was to weight the data for each city so that its effective sampling ratio would equal the largest of the city sampling ratios. For example the weight for Halifax would be 2.6, for Quebec City 1.0, for Montreal and Toronto 10, etc. This would provide a balanced sample from which percentages could be estimated.

Deviations in the application of the specified procedure precluded the use of this simple method of estimation. Failure to visit each block or each address in a block, or to interview a sample from the "Sub-Sampling List" necessitated a change in the weighting system. A weight was therefore determined for each block and was defined as the ratio of the number of sample dwellings selected in the block to the number of dwellings contacted. Where no dwellings in a block had been contacted this block was grouped with a matching block and a weight for the combined blocks was obtained. Blocks were matched on the basis of type of area and size. These block weights were used in conjunction with the city weights to obtain the percentages for the complete domain of study.

The weighted totals given in the tables of this report are the results of this two-stage weighting method, the figure 5967 is the weighted number of interviews which was used in determining percentages; it is not an estimate of the total number of married working women in the eight cities.

This adjusted estimation scheme does not overcome the inherent biases of the enumeration procedure that was used. The methods of weighting that were adopted may have reduced the effect of such biases, but the extent of the reduction cannot be determined. Thus the data in this report must be used with caution.

The Schedule, the Interview, and the Interviewers

After extensive discussion and some pretesting in Ottawa and Saint John, a schedule was developed which asked for information on over 100 separate items. These items covered the background characteristics of the respondent, her job and her work history, her home and family environment, and her attitudes, aspirations and ideas concerning her work situation and that of working women in general.

The information regarding attitudes was the only part of the schedule that created any unusual interviewing problems. The income items were bound to evoke a certain amount of resistance, particularly the question on husband's income. In order to achieve maximum rapport and communication the interviewers were encouraged to rephrase the questions in the schedule. This made for a relatively unstructured conversation. The interviews lasted from one-half hour to one hour and a half.

Interviewers were for the most part graduate students in Social Work, working under the supervision of faculty members. In one of the cities the interviewers were undergraduates in Psychology, while in another they were undergraduates in Commerce. About 30 per cent of the interviewers were males.

Prepared by

D. K. DALE,

Dominion Bureau of Statistics,

and

A. H. PORTIGAL,

Department of Labour.

